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Without Concealment-----Without Compromise.

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Pro-Slavery.

From the London Inquirer.

THE AMERICAN UNITARIANS AND SLAVERY.

We have been favored by Dr. Hutton with the following letter for publication. It is an answer to the letter on Slavery sent to America by the English Unitarian ministers, from a set of gentlemen who have thought it right to assume a somewhat different tone from that of the numerously signed answer already published. We think we may inform them that the English letter was written with a full knowledge of the mutual relations of the States under the American Constitution, and after consideration of what has been often alledged on that ground respecting the impossibility or impropriety of any peculiar action on the Slavery question. The English Unitarian ministers may be wrong in their inferences,—though we still think they were right,—but they certainly did not act in ignorance of so important an element in the case, nor without giving it their best consideration. We only think it necessary to add at present, that in pointing out what appeared to them to be required by sound principle under the circumstances of the case, and thereby implying that their American brethren had, by certain peculiarities in their position, been prevented from fully perceiving this, the English ministers could not have intended any such imputations against their respected brethren in America, as the present letter seems to suppose. We might be in error, but we wrote in no spirit of reproach or depreciation, and it was no arrogant assumption, but zeal in a holy cause, which opened our lips. We hope we should take in good part, and receive as a proof of Christian kindness, any suggestion that might be offered to us respecting our duties or possible means of usefulness.

To the Clergymen of Great Britain and Ireland, who addressed a letter to their brethren in the United States, upon the subject of Slavery:

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN:—We esteem it a privilege to receive the counsel of our brethren on matters of Christian duty; and your letter on the subject of Slavery has given us gratification, because it shows that the ocean does not separate us from your fellowship and sympathy. The want of accurate information on your part respecting our actual position in regard to Slavery, does not in the least diminish our confidence in the fraternal interest that dictated your communication.

You certainly do us no more than justice in supposing that we have "no doubts as to the deep wrong of man holding man as a slave," nor in anticipating our concurrence and sympathy when you deny the moral right of any human being "to make another his chattel." We should be slow to yield to any body of men in the strength with which we hold this conviction.

We agree with you in the fact, that a great moral and social evil exists in the United States; that like all other evils of the same nature, it grows chiefly out of the sins and selfish passions of men; that like other moral evils, it is a fit subject for moral and religious effort; and that it calls for appropriate action from us as ministers of religion.

There would seem, then, to be no peculiarity in regard to this subject, which calls for a warning thus solemnly and formally given, unless our minds, as you suggest, have been "reconciled to inaction, because inconvenience or sacrifice have happened to lie in the way of active and immediate endeavors to give effect to our inward convictions,"—in other words, that we have been unfaithful stewards, sacrificing our sense of duty to a love of ease, or from moral cowardice, and the fear of disagreeable consequences to ourselves.

These are serious charges which should not be lightly volunteered. If such be the impression on your minds,—a result to which we know you could not have arrived without the greatest grief,—we gladly avail ourselves of this occasion to disabuse you of it. We are sensible as individuals, and as a body, of great deficiencies, but we utterly and conscientiously deny that there is any sin of which we feel that we have reason to be afraid or unwilling to speak. If there were any such, it would be those,—(about which we are not commonly charged with delinquency)—which are more personal to our hearers, and most assuredly not the subject of Slavery, with which they have comparatively, so little to do. We say this to brethren, who address us in a Christian spirit, to an enemy or a scoffer, we will not say we should scorn, but we may at least say that we should not feel called on to make this claim to common honesty.

Now permit us to add, that the intimation in your letter, gently and sorrowfully conveyed, seems to proceed upon some misapprehension of the facts in the case. This is not the occasion for entering into a defence or explanation of the course which any of us have seen fit to pursue. It is sufficient to say that if you would form an intelligent and just judgment on the subject, it will be necessary for you, if you have not already done it, to inform yourselves of the relations that exist between the several States of this Union,—of the powers of the General Government,—and of the degree of control which one State has over the internal affairs of another.

It will be equally necessary for you to remember that hostility to this or that particular measure is not hostility to the cause of human freedom; and that disagreements as to the modes best adapted to the removal of Slavery, indicates no disagreement as to the nature or degree of reprobation in which we hold Slavery itself.

So far as the last point is concerned, the feeling of opposition to Slavery throughout New England, and in the parishes with which most of us are connected, is in general as strong, and as religiously held as we suppose it to be in any part of England. We know of no Unitarian pulpit in the Northern States in which, and no Unitarian preacher by whom, all Christian condemnation of Slavery might not be freely uttered, without suspicion that he was likely to assume the appearance, or share the fate of a martyr. We treat this as we do other sins and evils, according to the relative place and importance which we think it holds among the subjects on which we address those to whom we minister. If we have not occasion to speak of it as frequently as we need do of some other evils, it is because our hearers have no connection with it, except so far as they are citizens of the United States, acknowledging allegiance to its Constitution. There are those among us, doubtless, who, under other circumstances, might become slaveholders; but they are not so now. The passions which would permit them to become such, now among us, manifest themselves in other ways; and we think it proper to speak more of these passions, and of the sins to which they actually lead, than of slaveholding, with which our hearers have so little to do.

As to the general subject: the mass of sin and misery around you, the existence of which you are often compelled to witness and lament, has given you, undoubtedly, sad experience of the inefficiency of religious instruction suddenly to remove an enormous evil from the midst of a community: and you can determine how far the continued existence of Slavery in some of the States of this Union is to be charged to negligence of the Unitarian clergy, when you consider that with the exception of five or six of our number, whose fields of labor are in slaveholding States, it is hundreds of miles removed from us,—that we have no opportunity of personally addressing the holders of slaves,—that, for all useful purposes, they are as far removed from the sphere of our influence as from yours,—and that, from the nature of the bond which unites the several States, the people of Massachusetts have as little right or power to control the action of the Legislatures of Georgia or Alabama, relative to the subject of Slavery within their boundaries, as the citizens of Manchester or Liverpool.

We know that you will take comfort in the assurance that we have done, and are doing, upon this subject, what we think a sense of duty calls upon us to do; and we know you will pardon us for saying that of what we can or ought to do, we must of necessity be the most competent judges. You may well suppose that to a subject of such surpassing moment, to our country we have given our most serious thought, and that the course which any of us have seen fit to adopt, has not been adopted lightly. Every community has its own peculiar evils to deal with,—every minister must distribute his exertions over the whole field of his labors, according to the exigencies of his peculiar situation; he has the best means of knowing where his duty calls, and if others have confidence in his honesty of purpose, it seems to us that it requires great and intimate knowledge of the circumstances of his situation to warrant a rebuke, however tenderly and however honestly given, for his supposed unfaithfulness.

This communication expresses, as you will perceive, the views of but a few individuals respecting the position which Unitarians hold in relation to Slavery. It has not had the advantage of being circulated for signatures like the letter which it will accompany, and it is not written because of any dissent from the general principles of that letter. If it answer no other purpose, it may, perhaps, be an additional means, though a most slight and unimportant one, of showing how closely we feel connected to our brethren in England, and how deeply we value their sympathy.

Yours in the bonds of the Gospel,
EPHRAIM PEABODY, New Bedford, Mass.
S. K. LOTHROP, Boston, Mass.
GEORGE PUTNAM, Roxbury, Mass.
FRANCIS PARKMAN, Boston, Mass.
N. L. FROTHINGHAM, Boston, Mass.
C. W. UPHAM, Salem, Mass.
ALEXANDER YOUNG, Boston, Mass.
ORVILLE DEWEY, New-York, N. Y.
ALVIN LAMSON, Dedham, Mass.
NATH'L WHITMAN, Bridgewater, Mass.
Sept. 30, 1844.

Selections.

MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

It is a fundamental maxim of all our American Constitutions, that the people are the only rightful source of political power; that government is a delegated and limited trust; that all authority not conferred is reserved; and that, in fact, there are grave questions, lying deeper than the organized forms of government, and over which government, in none of its branches, has just control.

When, in the course of events, a question of this kind arises, it is fit to be examined, and must be examined, by the people themselves, and considered and decided by an enlightened and conscientious exercise of the public judgment, and a full and determined expression of the public will.

It is, perhaps, matter of necessity, that those to whom power is confided, under a free Constitution, must be left, in ordinary cases, to be judges, themselves, of the limits imposed on their own authority, subject to such checks and balances as the framers of government may have provided. But in times of great excitement, of political and party heat, in times when men's passions strengthen dangerously the natural tendency of all power to enlarge its limits by construction and inference, by plausible arguments and bad precedents, in such times it behooves the great constituent body to put forth its own power of investigation and decision, and to judge for itself, whether its agents are about to transcend their authority and abuse their trust.

Such an inquiry, in the judgment of this Convention, is presented to the people of the United States, by the project broached last year, and now zealously and hotly pursued, of annexing Texas to the United States.

This question transcends all the bounds of ordinary political topics. Is it not a question how the United States shall be governed, but what shall hereafter constitute the United States; it is not a question as to what system of policy shall prevail in the country, but what the country itself shall be. It is a question which touches the identity of the Republic. The inquiry is, whether we shall remain as we have been since 1789, or whether we shall now join another people to us, and mix, not only our interests, hopes, and prospects, but our very being, with another, and a foreign State.

This fearful proposition must awaken, and we are glad to know does awaken, a deep and intense feeling throughout a great part of the country. It touches reflecting minds to the very quick, because it appears to them to strike at foundations, to endanger first principles, and to menace, in a manner well calculated to excite alarm and terror, the stability of our political institutions.

A question of this magnitude is too broad to stand on any platform of party politics; it is too deep for any, or all, of the political creeds and dogmas of the day; it presents itself, or should present itself, not to political organizations, not to existing parties, not to particular interests, or local considerations, but to the PEOPLE of the United States, the WHOLE PEOPLE of the United States, as a subject of the greatest and most lasting importance, and calling, earnestly and imperatively, for immediate consideration, and resolute action.

We are assembled here, where the voice of freemen is wont to be uttered, to signify our opposition to this project, and as the project itself is as bold as it is alarming, scarcely seeking to disguise the want of constitutional power to sustain it, and setting forth its great and leading objects, with so unblushing a countenance, and such hardihood of avowal, as to create astonishment, not only in the United States, but all over the world; so, while we protest against it, in the most solemn manner, we shall state the great grounds of our protest, respectfully and dispassionately, but freely and fearlessly, and as if filled, as we are filled, with the most profound conviction that we are resisting a measure, the mischief of which cannot be measured in its magnitude, nor calculated in its duration.

We regard the scheme of annexing Texas to the United States, as being:

1. A plain violation of the Constitution.

2. As calculated and designed, by the open declaration of its friends, to uphold the interests of Slavery, extend its influence, and secure its permanent duration.

1. There is no constitutional power in any branch of the Government, or all the branches of the Government, to annex a foreign State to this Union.

The successful termination of the Revolutionary war left the old thirteen States free and independent, although united in a common confederacy. Some of these States possessed large tracts of territory, lying within the limits of their respective charters from the crown of England, not as yet cultivated or settled. Before the adoption of the present Constitution, it is well known these States had made extensive grants of this territory to the United States, with the main original purpose of disposing of the same, for the payment of the debt of the Revolution.

The cession of Virginia, to whom much the largest portion of this territory belonged, being all the land within her original charter, was made in 1784; and it was the express condition of that grant, that the ceded territory should be laid out and formed into States, each to be of suitable extent, not less than a hundred, nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square.

At the adoption of the present Constitution, these territories belonged to the United States, and the Government of the United States was bound to make provision for their admission into the Union, as States, so soon as they should become properly settled and peopled for that purpose. For the government of this territory the memorable Ordinance of July, 1787, was passed, and constituted the public law of the country, until the present Constitution was adopted. It became then a part of the duty of the framers of that instrument to make provision suitable to the subject. The Constitution declares, therefore, "that Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory of the United States." This gave the authority of governing the territory, as territory, while it remained such. And in the same article it is provided as follows:

Art. 4, Sec. 3. "New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress."

It is quite impossible to read this clear and exact provision, without seeing that Congress had in view two forms in which new States might be created and admitted into the Union. 1st. They might be created out of the territory which the United States possessed, and in regard to which the original stipulation was, that it should be formed into States in due time, and those States admitted into the Union. 2d. New States might be formed by the division of an existing State, or by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States; but in this case the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned was made necessary, as well as that of Congress.

It is plain and manifest that in all this there is not the slightest view towards any future acquisition of territory.

The Constitution was made for the country, as it then existed—that country then embracing both States and Territories, and it would be a perfectly hopeless task to seek to find, in the whole instrument, any manifest avowal, or any lurking intention to bring anything into this Union, not already belonging to it, either as a State or a Territory. The Constitution was no more meant to embrace Texas, than to embrace Cuba, or Jamaica, or Ireland. And it would well become those who are now making such efforts to torture the Constitution, till it shall seem to confer authority never intended by it, to acquaint themselves somewhat better with the political history of the period of its adoption.

The old Convention took effect in July, 1778, the third year of our independence. During the war the thirteen States had manifested a desire that their cause should be strengthened by the junction of Canada. There was, as all know, a very able and powerful address from the old Congress to the inhabitants of that Province, and the door was still kept open for Canada to come into the Union. By the eleventh article of the Constitution, it was expressly stipulated, that "Canada, acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to, all the advantages of this Union. Then follow these words—"but no other Colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States." Nine out of thirteen, then, being two thirds of all the original States, were required to assent, before a new State could be brought in. Thus stood the great principle of our Union, when the present Constitution was framed, in 1787. At that time, but subsequent to the date of the article of confederation, the United States, as we have seen, had acquired the vast territory northward of the Ohio, and stipulated that it should be formed into States.

The old provision in the eleventh article of the confederation was omitted in the new Constitution, and a provision made, applicable, and only applicable, to States already in the Union, and territories already possessed by the United States.

We see, then, that under the confederation, new States might come in by the consent of two-thirds, and not otherwise. We see by the present Constitution, provision is made for the admission of new States, formed out of the existing territory, or out of other existing States, and not otherwise. Is it not most manifest, that if the framers of the Constitution had looked to the admission of new States, to be formed out of territories afterwards to be acquired, it would, at least, have guarded such a purpose, and such a power, by such a limitation, at least, as should be equivalent to that on the same subject, contained in the confederation?

The advocates of the annexation of Texas are driven to the necessity of contending, that new States may be admitted, formed of territory out of the original limits of the United States, although the Constitution has carefully and sedulously omitted and rejected the eleventh article of the confederation, and has made a provision of its own, the end and design of which cannot be misunderstood or disregarded, without violence to plain terms and clear language, as well as ignorance of, or contempt for, all the contemporaneous history of the country.

They are obliged to contend, also, that this constitutional authority, raised by feeble and forced construction, by unfounded inference and remote analogy, extends, not only to the admission of territories or colonies of other independent nations, but to these individual nations themselves; in other words, that a Government formed for the protection and benefit of the people of the United States, each one of which States is enumerated and set down by name in the Constitution of the United States, may not only add to the number of these States, but may also bring in a foreign power, with all its peculiar interests, connections, debts, and liabilities, not only without the consent of two-thirds of the States, or a majority of the States, or indeed, without the assent of any one State already in the Union, acting in the capacity and manner in which the people of that State themselves came into it.

It is idle to say that the assent of the people of a State, in a great and fundamental question like this, is to be proved by, or inferred from, any vote of its Representatives in Congress. No member of Congress is sent there for that purpose, or clothed with any such authority. It is, indeed, extremely doubtful, if the question be not clear the other way, whether any State Government, organized for the common purposes of a State Government, could give the assent of such a State to the coming in of a new partner to the Union. When the people of Massachusetts gave their consent to form a political union with Virginia, New-York, and Pennsylvania, under the present Constitution, that assent was given, not by the Legislature, but by a Convention of Delegates, chosen directly by the people for that single and express object, and no other; and with authority, therefore, to bind the people in a manner to which no other representative body was competent.

But it would seem to the members of this Convention, that if anything can be more clear than the want of all constitutional authority to annex Texas to the United States, it is that the form in which such annexation is now attempted to be brought about, is an undisguised and open violation of express constitutional provisions.

A Treaty, for the Annexation of Texas to the United States, was negotiated last year, between the President of the United States and the Texan Government, and laid before the Senate, for its constitutional ratification, at the last session of Congress. It was sent, like any other Treaty, and required, of course, the concurrence of the same proportion of Senators as other treaties require, to wit, two-thirds of all present.

A confidence, very ill-founded, as events have shown, had been already expressed, and signified to Texas, that the concurrence of that number of Senators was certain. After many weeks of debate, the Treaty was rejected by a vote of thirty-five to sixteen—it thus appearing that not only had two-thirds of the Senators not voted for it, but that two-thirds had voted against it. Here was supposed to be an end of the Treaty; but no sooner was Congress assembled, at its present session, than a joint resolution was introduced, declaring that this Treaty, the ratification of which had thus been decisively refused by the Senate, the only body which could constitutionally give it ratification, should, nevertheless, become the supreme law of the land. This resolution is now pending, modified in its form, but providing substantially for the same object; it has already passed the House of Representatives, and should it pass both houses, then an attempt will have been made, and will have succeeded, so far as the forms of law are concerned, to ratify a Treaty by mere majorities of both houses, instead of the constitutional authority of the Senate.

We know not on what occasion bad objects have been more emphatically pursued by bad means, or in which the recklessness of the original purpose has been followed up by grosser disregard of all constitutional and just restraint. If this precedent prevail, the treaty-making power, as established by the Constitution, is at an end. It will be no longer for the Senate, the great conservative, and most permanent body of the Government, to act deliberately and gravely on treaties with foreign States, to judge of them in the light of its own wisdom, and under the responsibility of its own high character, and to grant its ratification, if the constitutional number of Senators present concur. The ratification of treaties will become the business of party majorities, temporary majorities, it may be bare majorities, of the two houses, acting under the influences, and liable to all the errors, which may occasionally affect the proceedings of such numerous assemblies.

Both the negotiation and the ratification of treaties are, in their nature, part of the Executive power of Government. Wherever the Executive power is vested, there the treaty-making power ordinarily goes with it, and as a part of it. There may, indeed, be limitations, introduced for greater security; and in this case it is not important whether we consider the Senate of the United States as partaking, in these respects, of the Executive power, or as being clothed, by the provisions of the Constitution, with a special authority in regard to treaties. That authority is established, and does exist. It exists, in concurrence with the power of the President; and if the ratification of a treaty may be made by majorities of the two houses, the negotiation of a treaty might as well be undertaken by the same authority.

The House of Representatives has a legislative power, and none other; and whatever may be the form of a resolution or law for the annexation of Texas, still, as such resolution or law must imply the assent of Texas, the thing to be accomplished is plainly a compact between independent Governments. It is, in its nature, therefore, a convention, or agreement between two nations; and a convention or agreement between two nations is a treaty, and must be sanctioned in the way provided for all nations.

The entering into treaties with foreign nations, is a matter of the very highest importance, often attended with danger, and always requiring grave deliberation. Yet the common good does require that Governments should enter into such treaties, for commercial and other just and proper purposes. But, while the power is granted, special limits and securities are also established. Senators are elected by States, and an equal number from each State; to decide upon treaties is one of their express constitutional powers and duties. No treaty with a foreign power can be ratified, unless two-thirds of the Senators concur; in effect, unless two-thirds of the States concur.

Here is, then, a constitutional guaranty, not only that all treaties touching the general good of the country, shall be deliberately considered, but that nothing which may affect the rights, interests, and authority of the States shall be done under the treaty-making power, without the consent of two-thirds of the States themselves.

And it appears to this Convention, that if we can conceive of any bargain, compact, or agreement, with a foreign State, under the authority of the General Government, in which the States, as States, have a peculiar, most important, and permanent interest, it is a compact or agreement by which another Government or nation is to come into the Union, and become one of themselves.

Whoever seeks, therefore, to confer the power of ratifying treaties on any other body but the Senate of the United States, acting under its constitutional limitations as to numbers, appears to us to strike a deadly blow at one of those most considerable provisions, which regard the States as States, and give them, as States, an equal share in the administration of the Government.

But we desire not to be misunderstood. According to our convictions, there is no power in any branch of the Government, or all its branches, to annex foreign territory to this Union. We have made the foregoing remarks, only to show, that if any fair construction could show such a power to exist anywhere, or to be exercised in any form, yet the manner of its exercise now proposed, is destitute of all decent semblance of constitutional propriety.

Great reliance is placed by the advocates of Annexation on the precedents of Louisiana and Florida. It is not to be denied that those precedents do create embarrassment on the present occasion, because precedents are often allowed to have influence without full consideration of all the circumstances which may make them rather exceptions to a general rule, than a regular emanation from it.

Louisiana was acquired under very particular circumstances, totally distinct from those which pertain to the present case; circumstances affecting, and liable to affect, as well the peace of the country, as the useful enjoyment of its acknowledged territory. Every one saw the importance of the control of the mouth of the Mississippi; every one saw, that while a foreign government held Louisiana, we commanded no outlet to the sea, from all the vast and fertile regions of the West. With Spain we had had difficulties, menacing war. It was obvious that our western region, filling up with such wonderful rapidity, by enterprising citizens, whose necessities for a passage to the ocean were increasing with their own population and their own products, would never refrain from insisting, at whatever hazard, on the free use of the greatest river in the world, along whose banks, and among whose tributaries it was situated, from its sources to its mouth.

The acquisition of Louisiana was a measure of Mr. Jefferson's administration. He himself appears not to have had the slightest idea that it would ever be admitted into the Union, without an alteration of the Constitution. Such alteration of the Constitution was certainly contemplated, and even recommended by him; but the posture of things at the moment, and the general acquiescence of the country in the attainment of what it had seemed so necessary to attain, led to the ratification of the treaty, and to the subsequent admission of Louisiana into the Union, as a State, without any alteration of the Constitution.

Florida was also acquired by treaty. The objects of the acquisition were similar to those which had prevailed in regard to Louisiana, with this further inducement: that the whole value of the territory should be paid to the citizens of the United States, who had just claims against the Spanish Government for seizures and spoliations of property.

These cases, in the judgment of this Convention, do not justify the attempt now made to annex Texas. We are not aware that they have ever been defended upon such grounds as are assumed in the case of Texas. They stand on reasons peculiar to themselves; and if, in regard to either of them, these peculiar reasons, or the urgency of the case, or the general acquiescence of the country, either occasioned or overlooked a departure from constitutional principles or provisions, neither of them, certainly, can be allowed to have the authority of a general precedent. As cases decided and acted upon, let them stand; but if they are to be regarded as justifying authorities for other annexations, for which no necessity exists—annexations, not of territories, but of whole nations, then it is obvious that no man can foresee what may be the country of which he is a citizen, or under what forms of government he may hope hereafter to live.

II. "Annexation is calculated and designed, by the open declaration of its friends, to uphold the interests of Slavery, extend its influence, and secure its permanent duration."

The frankness of this avowal supersedes the necessity of any attempt to strip off disguises, or to bring hidden and concealed motives into the light. There is no disguise, the motives are all confessed. They are boldly avowed to the country and the world; and the question is therefore open, visible, naked, and in its true character, before the American people.

The treaty of Annexation was negotiated under the direction of Mr. Tyler, the present President of the United States. In the early stages of the negotiation it was conducted by Mr. Upshur, then Secretary of State, and was brought to its conclusion by the agency of the present Secretary, Mr. Calhoun.

When the Treaty was sent to the Senate, it was accompanied by an elaborate message from the President, setting forth its character and objects. It was accompanied by parts, though meagre and scanty parts, of the correspondence which had preceded its conclusion. Repeated and persevering calls of the Senate produced, at subsequent successive periods, other and much more important parts of that correspondence. Since the rejection of the Treaty, the Secretary of State has continued to address our public Ministers abroad upon the subject; and the country has now before it a mass of correspondence, between the Government in Washington and its diplomatic agents abroad, and between those agents and the Governments of Mexico and Texas. How far that correspondence, taken together, exhibits ability, dignity, self-respect, and respect for the rights of others: how far its general character reflects honor and credit on the Government of this country, we willingly abstain from undertaking to show. We refer to it now only as containing those open confessions and avowals, of which we have already spoken, of the purpose with which Annexation has been proposed, and is now pursued with such unwearied perseverance.

Here, then, is a spectacle, in our judgment a sad spectacle, not only for the contemplation of our own country, but that of the whole civilized world. These advocates of Annexation insist, that not only is Slavery an institution desirable in itself, fit to be retained, and necessary to be maintained, as a blessing to man, but they seem to insist, also, that a leading object of the Constitution of the United States was to guard it, defend it, and assure its perpetual duration. Let the Constitution of the country be vindicated from this imputation; let its objects and its purposes, its ends and its means, be clearly stated; and then no lover of human liberty will feel disposed to turn his back upon it with disrespect. The introduction of slaves into the Southern States, while British colonies, is of early date. For that introduction, the mother country is to be blamed, more than the colonies themselves. Slavery thus got a footing in the country, and was found existing when the Revolution severed the United States from Great Britain. Like other concerns of the States, it was, up to the time of the adoption of the present Constitution, a subject of State legislation and regulation. It is certain that the Constitution recognized its existence. It took its existence as a fact, and as one fact going to make out that actual condition of things in which the Constitution was proposed to be established, and to which it was intended to be accommodated, so far as must necessarily be done.

The States in which involuntary servitude existed, were not called upon to abolish such servitude, before they could be admitted into the Union; nor, on the other hand, was the proposed Government to be called upon to fortify the laws of the States, creating or establishing this involuntary servitude, by any interposition of its authority, or any guaranty or assurance whatever. It pledged itself, indeed, to exercise its authority to suppress insurrections, but this provision was as applicable to one State as another. There is reason, however, to believe that at that time there existed amongst the citizens of the country, generally, even amongst those of the slaveholding States themselves, a belief that Slavery was on the wane; that new views of political economy and of the general interest, would lead to the supplying of its place by free labor; and it may be added, with entire truth, that the successful termination of the war which had been waged for liberty and the rights of man, had impressed a general expectation that the political liberation of the country from foreign dominion would tend to produce dispositions favorable to a change of the relation between the black and white races; a change which, commencing with mitigation, and proceeding gradually and with safety from step to step, might eventually terminate in the total abolition of Slavery. Acts of legislation, official addresses, memorials, resolutions, and many other forms of public proceeding, showed clearly the existence of such an expectation. Let us recur to sentiments expressed at that time, by those whose memory the country loves and reveres, and whose wisdom, virtue, and patriotic exertions were most eminent in giving it an honored station among the nations of the earth.

Soon after the adoption of the Constitution, it was declared by GEORGE WASHINGTON to be "among his first wishes to see some plan adopted by which Slavery might be abolished by law;" and in various forms, in public and private communications, he avowed his anxious desire that "a spirit of humanity," prompting to "the emancipation of the slaves," "might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people;" and he gave the assurance, that "so far as his own suffrage would go," his influence should not be wanting to accomplish this result. By his last will and testament he provided that "all his slaves should receive their freedom," and, in terms significant of the deep solicitude he felt upon the subject, he "most pointedly and most solemnly enjoined it upon his executors to see that the clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled, without evasion, neglect, or delay."

No language can be more explicit, more emphatic, or more solemn, than that in which THOMAS JEFFERSON, from the beginning to the end of his life, uniformly declared his opposition to Slavery. "I tremble for my country," said he, "when I reflect that God is just—that his justice cannot sleep forever." * * * "The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest." In reference to the state of public feeling, as influenced by the Revolution, he said, "I think a change already perceptible since the origin of the Revolution;" and to show his own view of the proper influence of the spirit of the Revolution upon Slavery, he proposed the searching question: "Who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow-men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose?" "We must wait," he added, "with patience, the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full—when their tears shall have involved heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or at length, by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to things of this world, and that they be not left to the guidance of blind fatality!" Towards the close of his life, Mr. Jefferson made a renewed and final declaration of his opinion, by writing thus to a friend: "My sentiments, on the subject of the slavery of negroes, have long since been in possession of the public, and time has only served to give them stronger root. The love of justice and the love of country plead equally the cause of these people; and it is a moral reproach to us that they should have pleaded it so long in vain, and should have produced not a single effort—nay, I fear, not much serious willingness, to relieve them and ourselves from our present condition of moral and political reprobation."

"It would rejoice my very soul," said PATRICK HENRY, in the Virginia Convention, "that every one of my fellow-beings were emancipated. As we ought with gratitude to admire that decree of Heaven which has numbered us among the free, we ought to lament and deplore the necessity of holding our fellow-men in bondage." "I believe a time will come," he also remarked in a letter to a friend in his own State, "when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil."

"Till America comes into this measure," [the abolition of slavery] said JOHN JAY, writing from Spain, in 1780, "her prayers to Heaven will be impious. I believe God governs the world, and I believe it to be a maxim in his, as in our courts, that those who ask for equity ought to do it."

We content ourselves with quoting further the preamble of the Abolition Act of Pennsylvania:

"When we contemplate our abhorrence of that condition to which the arms and tyranny of Great Britain were exerted to reduce us; when we look back on the variety of dangers to which we have been exposed, and how miraculously, in many instances, our wants have been supplied, and our deliverances wrought, when even hope and human fortitude have become unequal to the conflict; we are unavoidably led to a serious and grateful sense of the manifold blessings which we have undeservedly received from the hand of that Being, from whom every good and perfect gift cometh. Impressed with these ideas, we conceive that it is our duty, and we rejoice that it is in our power, to extend a portion of that freedom to others which has been extended to us, and relieve them from that state of thraldom, to which we ourselves were tyrannically doomed, and from which we have now every prospect of being delivered.

"We esteem it a peculiar blessing, granted to us, that we are this day enabled to add one more step to universal civilization, by removing, as much as possible, the sorrows of those who have lived in undeserved bondage, and from which, by the assumed authority of the Kings of Great Britain, no effectual legal relief could be obtained. Weaned by a long course of experience from those narrow prejudices and partialities we had imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards men of all conditions and nations: and we conceive ourselves, at this particular period, extraordinarily called upon by the blessing which we have received, to manifest the sincerity of our professions, and to give a substantial proof of our gratitude.

"And whereas, the condition of those persons who have heretofore been denominated negro and mulatto slaves, has been attended with circumstances, which not only deprived them of the common blessing they were by nature entitled to, but has cast them into the deepest afflictions, by an unnatural separation and sale of husband and wife from each other, and from their children; an injury, the greatness of which can only be conceived by supposing that we were in the same unhappy case. In justice, therefore, to persons so unhappily circumstanced, and who, having no prospect before them, wherein they may rest their sorrows and their hopes, have no reasonable inducement to render the service to society which they otherwise might, and also, in grateful commemoration of our own happy deliverance from that state of unconditional submission to which we were doomed by the tyranny of Britain. Be it enacted, that no child hereafter born, shall be a slave," &c.

The slave-trade was admitted to be an enormous offence against religion and humanity, and power was given to the new Government to abolish it; and when the appointed time arrived, they did abolish it, with the general concurrence of all.

It is manifest, then, that neither any specific provision of the Constitution nor anything to be gathered from its general intent, or any sentiment or opinion in the minds of those who framed it, and who were among the greatest men of the country at the time, can warrant the belief that more was expected of the Constitution, and the Government to be established under it, than the prevention of the further importation of slaves from Africa, leaving the States where it already existed to deal with it as an affair of their own; and it is equally manifest, that the hopes of the wise and the good, the most ardent wishes of the most influential and patriotic men in the country, looked not to the further increase and extension of Slavery, but to its gradual abolition; and the highest intellects of the country were exercised in the contemplation of means by which that abolition might be best effected.

As significant of the fact that the framers of the Constitution considered domestic slavery a condition of things which would be of temporary duration, we ask your attention to this circumstance. While the Constitution contains provisions adapted to the actual condition of the Southern States, and to the servitude which existed there, it does not once recognize slavery in terms. The word, slave, is not to be found in that document. That the omission is not accidental, would be clearly and necessarily inferred, from the careful circumlocution by which this class of persons is provided for without being named.

But we are not left to inference, however irresistible, to enable us to ascertain the reason of the omission. It was declared by a distinguished member of the Convention of 1787.

An act contemporaneous with the formation of the Constitution throws further light upon the purposes of the Fathers of the Republic.

In July, 1787, while the Convention that framed the Constitution was in session, the well-known Ordinance for the government of the Northwest territory was adopted, with but one dissenting vote, by the old Continental Congress. It provided, as we have seen, for the formation of States out of that territory. It also ordained that there should forever after be no slavery, or involuntary servitude, within it. When it is remembered that this ordinance extended its provisions over all the territories then possessed by the confederated States out of which new States could be formed, we have, in the form of permanent legislation, a solemn declaration of the purpose then entertained, not to permit Slavery to spread beyond its original limits.

The theory that the Constitution was made for the preservation, encouragement, and expansion of Slavery; that every new acquisition which Freedom should make on her own soil, through the blessing of heaven upon toil and enterprise, should be counterbalanced by the incorporation into the body politic of an equal portion of exotic slavery; and that the decline of the latter, through the operation of beneficent causes, kindly placed beyond the control of man, should be retarded by subjecting to its desolating influence new regions, acquired by purchase, or fraud, or force, dates its discovery from a period long subsequent to the establishment of the Government.

Having shown that the Constitution was not designed to uphold Slavery, and that such construction of it derives no aid from contemporaneous authority, this Convention finds in the purposes for which the General Government was established, further insuperable objections to the measure under consideration.

What were those purposes? They are declared on the first page of the Constitution. They are, "to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity." These are the declared objects for which the Government was ordained. Are any of these ends promoted by the extension of Slavery?

Were there no purpose to enlarge the limits of domestic servitude, were the Executive and the supporters of his prominent measure content to leave the evil where the Constitution left it, that is, within its original bounds, it might seem invidious for this Convention to examine into relations and condition of things existing in other States of the Union over which Massachusetts has no control. But it must be remembered that the inquiry now instituted by this Convention, is forced upon it by an attempt to bring within the protection of the Constitution, that which it was never made to comprehend, and to sustain by its power, a new, because it did not crush, at once, an existing evil. We, therefore, ask the advocates of the extension of Slavery, which of the great objects of the Union they expect to promote by the success of their undertaking?

That the cause of justice is not advanced, by the subjugation of one portion of the human race to the despotic power and absolute will of another portion, is a proposition, in the abstract, so manifestly true, that its denial, in few and remarkable instances, is regarded by the common understanding of mankind, as the melancholy proof of a disordered intellect.

But, independently of principles of universal application, which prohibit the relation of master and slave, on the ground of infringement of inalienable rights, there are objections to the present scheme for the acquisition of Texas, deserving the grave consideration of all, who would preserve the honor of the country unstained, and its character free from the reproach of seeking its own aggrandizement, regardless of the rights of others.

The history of the revolt of Texas from the parent country, of its conflicts, of the formation of an independent government, and of the maintenance of that

government, to the present hour, is a history of the achievements of citizens of the United States upon a foreign soil. The boasted victory of San Jacinto was won by citizens of the United States, aided by soldiers from its army. The declaration of Texan independence was made by citizens of the United States. Among the signers of that instrument, there is to be found but one name of a native inhabitant of Texas or Mexico. The chief offices in the Government of Texas, from the beginning, have been held by men long and familiarly known as citizens of the United States.

Nor was the purpose disguised, from the first moment of discontent with the Government of Mexico, ultimately to effect a union with this country. As early as 1829, this was publicly declared to be the object in view, by some of the prominent and most influential of the advocates of Annexation. And as if to justify, and fasten forever upon the country, the imputation, that the Government of the United States, disregarding the obligations of a solemn treaty of amity with Mexico, had connived at the enlistment, within its jurisdiction, of its own citizens for the army of Texas, the juxtaposition of its own troops to the field of battle, on the eve of an engagement, their secession, and their union with the forces of Texas, and other acts of alledged hostility to Mexico, the avowal has been made to the world, by the Executive and his Ministers, that for many years the successive administrations of the Government have sought to enlarge its territory, by the acquisition of Texas. The belief that the dismemberment of Mexico was effected for the purpose of strengthening the institution of Slavery in this country, is fortified by the fact of the identity of the immediate causes of that revolution with the objects now sought to be obtained by the annexation of Texas. In the year 1829, the Government of Mexico, by law, abolished slavery throughout its dominions. The preamble to the enactment expresses sentiments and avows motives, which shed lustre upon the noble deed. These are its memorable words:

"Be it known that, in the year 1829, being desirous of sigalizing the anniversary of our independence by an act of national justice and beneficence, which may contribute to the strength and support of such inestimable welfare, to secure more and more the public tranquility, and reinstate an unfortunate portion of our inhabitants in the sacred rights granted them by nature, and may be protected by the nation, under wise and just laws, be it enacted, that slavery be exterminated in the republic."

The new proprietors of Texas, then a Department of Mexico, refused to relinquish their slaves, and assumed the attitude of rebellion against the laws of Mexico.

This Convention disclaims all hostility or unkind feeling towards the Government or the people of Texas. However much it might be desired that the time and manner of its accomplishment had been otherwise, the fact is before us, that the independence of Texas has been acknowledged by the constituted authorities of the United States. That its Government may be established upon principles that give strength and security to a State, and reality and permanence to its prosperity, and that it may contribute to spread the knowledge and enjoyment of true liberty upon the American continent, is our most earnest wish. These are our sentiments towards Texas, as an independent nation. But, Texas rebelling against the laws of Mexico, which abolished slavery,—Texas, wrested from Mexico by citizens of the United States,—Texas, the support and defence of American slavery,—can never be joined to this Union, but in bonds of mutual infamy.

If, then, justice condemns this measure of the administration, as being at war with all its purposes, we shall look in vain, through this instrumentality, for the attainment of any constitutional object whatever.

We will not ask, lest the inquiry should seem to be made in derision, if "the blessings of liberty" are to be secured by the enlargement of the limits of Slavery, and the augmentation of its power. That "domestic tranquillity" will not be promoted by the increased strength of its great disturbing cause; and that the safety, of a nation in war will not be increased by the presence of a domestic enemy, which holds motionless the arm that would be raised for its defences, are propositions admitting neither argument nor denial.

Throughout the revolutionary war, the weakness of the Southern States, and their inability to furnish a due proportion of soldiers for the army, may be seen by reference to the quotas of troops sent by the respective States in the confederacy, into the service of the country. To place beyond doubt the cause of this inequality, the following testimony is adduced from the records of the Continental Congress.

"March 29th, 1779.—A Committee, consisting of Messrs. Burke, Laurens, Armstrong, Wilson, and Dyer, appointed to take into consideration the circumstances of the Southern States, and the ways and means for their safety and defence, report,—

That the State of South Carolina, as represented by the delegates of said State, and by Mr. Huger, who has come here by the request of the Governor of the said State, on purpose to explain the particular circumstances thereof, is unable to make any effectual efforts with militia, by reasons of the great proportion of the citizens necessary to remain at home to prevent insurrection among the negroes, and to prevent the desertion of them to the enemy."

Were the evil consequences of Annexation, already alluded to, less formidable, we might point to other, and immediate dangers, too great for ordinary prudence to disregard, or, for such an object, to encounter.

The debt of Texas, and the war with Mexico must in that event, both be assumed by the United States, The former is uncertain, known, however, to be of great amount, and is estimated by competent judges, at twenty millions of dollars.

Whatever may be its amount, and whatever may be the conditions of union between the countries, that debt must become the debt of the United States. It would be alike inconsistent with the honor of the nation and the rights of others, to annihilate the national character of Texas, assume the revenue accruing from her commerce, and leave the creditor unpaid.

It is equally certain, that by a union with Texas, the United States becomes a party in its war with Mexico. With what degree of vigor that war may be carried on by the latter power, and what other nations may become involved in it, time only can determine. That it must despoil our commerce, and impair our general prosperity; that it *may* result in hostilities with powerful nations; and that it would be an unnecessary and unjust participation in the conflicts of foreign governments, are considerations too momentous to be overlooked in any fair estimate of the results of Annexation.

In a just cause, in the defence of our own rights, the United States may bid defiance to aggression.—But to maintain friendly relations with all nations, so far as may be consistent with honor, has been the permanent policy, as it is the obvious interest, of the country. Distant be the day, when, for any object, there shall be a departure from that righteous policy! May that day never dawn, which shall behold the glorious flag of this Union borne in foreign battlefields, to sustain, in the name of liberty, the supremacy of its eternal foe!

This Convention has now, fellow-cuizens, performed a high and incumbent duty. With all the brevity which the magnitude and importance of the subject will permit, we have laid before you some of the reasons which impel the people of this Commonwealth to refuse their assent to the formation of a new federal union. Massachusetts denounces the iniquitous project, in its inception, and in every stage of its progress, its means and its end, and all the purposes and pretences of its authors. She denounces it, as the overthrow of the Constitution, the bond of the existing Union. She denounces it, as hostile to all the objects for which that Union was established. In the name of religion she denounces it, as a flagrant violation of its revealed principles. In the name of humanity she denounces it, as a deliberate and monstrous machination to secure the unlimited spread and sway of the scourge and curse of the human race.

We address you from Faneuil Hall, the honored place where freemen, in other times, were wont to give bold utterance to their manly thoughts. Around us are the high places where our fathers jeoparded life in the cause of American liberty. The monuments of their devotedness to that cause, even unto death, are in our sight. Their principles are ours. Their spirit animates our hearts, and though us they summon you to the defence of all they held most dear on earth.

We call upon you, therefore, in their name, and in the name of all the patriots of the Revolution, to stand by us in this day of peril. And we beseech you that you will not permit the declaration they made to the world, on the glorious fourth of July, 1776, to become an object of scorn and derision, by reason of an abandonment of all its principles, even before the last of the generation with which they acted have disappeared from the earth.

Will the South disregard all remonstrance and press on to its consummation this deed of atrocious wrong? When the Constitution was framed, we have seen, that there was harmony of sentiment among the intelligent men in all sections of the country respecting the injurious influences of slavery. Nowhere do we find its evils more faithfully portrayed than in the speeches and writings of eminent men belonging to the slaveholding States, in the early period of our history. The opinions they expressed of Slavery have been verified at each step in the progress of the nation. Withering every interest it touches; paralyzing the strength of States, yet in their youth; more desolating than blight or mildew to the soil that sustains it; in all ages and countries, the wrong done to the nature of man, when he is subjected to involuntary servitude, is avenged by the wide-spread ruin his reluctant service repays.

For this unhappy condition of society, the remedy sought to be applied can only aggravate the mischief it would remove. To eradicate the evil, not to disseminate it, is the dictate both of wisdom and philanthropy.

But, whatever may be the policy of the Southern States, upon the question of Annexation, surely the appeal to the people of the free States will not be made in vain. Not only the highest obligations of duty bind them to oppose, with all their energies, the extension of a vast moral, political and social evil, but it is clear that no other course is consistent with mere self-preservation.

Their consent is demanded to the introduction into this Union of slave States, to be formed out of foreign territory. And for what end is this demand made?

The object, we repeat, is undisguised. The purpose is single. It is to control their policy, to make the interests of free labor subservient to the necessities of an artificial, unthrifty, unnatural, and unjust condition of society. It is to force industry out of the paths which lead to abundance and prosperity, because those paths are open only to the feet of freemen.

During the whole existence of the General Government, hitherto, Southern principles have had an almost unbroken sway. This has been felt in ruinous changes of public policy, seemingly capricious, but really intended, through all its changes, to discourage the industry of the free States, derange their business, and depress them to the level of communities in which all labor is held to be degrading, except that which is extorted from unwilling hands, by the lash of usurped authority.

It has been perceived that the night of this iron dominion was passing away. The energies of freemen, put forth in submission to the laws of Providence, have overcome all obstacles, and opened the way for the growth, prosperity, and power of the free States.

No sooner is that power beginning to be felt in the protection it extends to the interests which created it, than a gigantic effort is made to reduce it, again and forever, to subjection.

The free States are called upon to assist in forging the chains that are to bind them. By the help of craven and treacherous Representatives of these States, the foul deed, if done at all, must be accomplished. But that Representative of a non-slaveholding State, who shall be so lost to all his obligations to earth and Heaven, as to yield his consent to a measure pernicious to one, and offensive to the other, will live, while he lives, the object of scorn and loathing to all lovers of liberty and of man; and when he shall have perished from the earth, the history of his iniquitous act will be the lasting memorial of his infamy.

In conclusion, fellow-citizens, we call upon you to unite with us in prompt, vigorous, and unceasing hostility to this scheme of Annexation. Whatever may be its fate in the present Congress, it will never be abandoned while a hope of success remains. The patronage of office, and the appliances of corruption, and all the energies of desperation, will be combined for its accomplishment. Let, then, the power of truth and justice, the love of liberty, a determination to preserve the institutions of free Government, and a regard for the well-being of the country, unite all honest and patriotic men, in one mighty and persevering effort for its overthrow. Let public sentiment be everywhere enlightened in respect to the origin, history, and objects of the measure of Annexation. Let it be the all-engrossing theme by the fireside and in the field; and let the people of every State assemble and denounce it. Let the sentinels of the press slumber not; but, with unceasing vigilance, watch the approach of danger, and sound the loud alarm. And may that Providence which established, and has hitherto protected, our beloved country, preserve it from guilt and ruin!

JOHN M. WILLIAMS, President.

Vice Presidents.
JOHN DAVIS,
DANIEL A. WHITE,
ELISH HUNTINGTON,
DAVID WILDER,
IRA M. BARTON,
GEORGE GRENNELL,
ASAHEL FOOTE,
WILLIAM JACKSON,
ARTEMAS HALE,
JOHN REED.

Secretaries.
GEORGE T. CURTIS,
JAMES B. CONGDON,
JOHN MILTON EARLE,
JOHN G. WHITTIER,

STATEMENT

OF THE HON. HENRY HUBBARD, THE AGENT OF THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS TO LOUISIANA.

To his Excellency, George N. Briggs, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

Sir: I arrived at New Orleans on the night of the 1st instant, and took lodgings in the St. Louis Hotel on the 2d.

On the morning of the 3d, Jacob Barker, Esq. called on me, in company with four other gentlemen, whom he introduced to me as persons of the first respectability in the city, and some of them descendants of ancient French families; Gen. Pierre, of the Senate, and Convention, Ex-Mayor Pierre, ——— ———, and Gen. Downs. Mr. Barker then stated that he had received my letter, with its inclosure, through the post-office that morning, and, after reading them, he went immediately to confer with Governor Mouton on the subject referred to in them, and found him in his office, where these gentlemen were. That the Governor mentioned he had received no communication from me, and hoped he should not receive any; but if he did, he should not answer it, or acknowledge my mission. That the Governor spoke of the nature of the mission, the excitement produced by it, and said that he should not mention the agitating subject in his message to the Legislature. That he wished him, Mr. Barker, to call on me, and express the sentiments and feelings of the Governor to me. That Mr. Barker consented to bear the message, if these gentlemen would accompany him, as witnesses to what he should say. He took that precaution to prevent any evil surmises, and it was perhaps the more expedient, as he had been formerly suspected of abolitionism. He then desired that they would express their concurrence or non-concurrence with what he said. He then expatiated on the sensibility of the people in the slave States on the subject of abolition, and particularly on the police laws relative to the introduction of free colored persons into them. That my presence in the city had caused great excitement, and the more, as, after what had transpired at Charleston, it appeared like braving or provoking public feeling. That any action on my mission would produce an excitement, the consequences of which could not be calculated, especially on the part of the French population, and could not fail of involving my personal safety, if not life. That he spoke from experience, as in one instance a high excitement was produced against him from his acting as attorney and counsel for a man claimed as a slave, but who asserted his freedom. That, independent of considerations personal to myself, it might be proper matter for reflection, whether I ought to be instrumental in causing such an excitement as my stay must occasion. That the public mind here, and in the slave States, had prejudices connected with the subject of slavery, though never so unreasonable in the opinion of others, was a fact, and of the greatest practical importance. That they would only be removed by public discussion and information, which must operate gradually and imperceptibly to be successful—and time was necessary to the consummation. He, therefore, advised I should leave the city immediately, and go to Ohio, a free State, and advise my government to reconsider their measure; or, if I decided so to advise, stay there till the excitement was over, and in the meantime could make use of the public press to remove the prejudices before alluded to.

He questioned the propriety of a mission from a State to a State in this confederacy, as though they were independent governments. He also alluded to the law against interfering against the very law the operation of which my mission was to contest.

On the other gentlemen being referred to, they all concurred freely.

I explained why I did not immediately communicate my arrival, &c. to the Governor—because I wished first to confer with Mr. Barker on the subject, that I might act advisedly—as I was recommended by a most esteemed ——, to make him my chief adviser and counsel. I referred to the resolves which created the agency which I was commissioned to execute. That agency perhaps was not accurately understoood. It was simply to enable or assist a citizen of Massachusetts to avail himself of lawful means for his liberation, when imprisoned without accusation of any crime. In a government of law this would seem not to be offensive to any, especially when done by a State, acting in pursuance of a fundamental duty towards its citizens. The first resolve, as appears by its recital, did not pass until remonstrances had been made in vain; nor was the second passed, authorizing an agent from that State, until no agent could be procured who was a resident in the State so imprisoning. There was, therefore, a two-fold necessity for the present agency. It was not a mission to a State, in its sovereign or corporate capacity, any more than would be a commissioner sent to take deeds, &c. but only a mission to be executed within the limits of a State, like any power of attorney or commercial enterprise. But it should seem that no umbrage could be taken at the agency in this case, as all its transactions and claims are submitted wholly and absolutely to the law, the paramount law, of the place where it is to be executed. It is especially difficult to realize the represented excitement among the citizens of the city of New Orleans, in consequence of a mission concerning, at most, it is to be hoped and expected, only a few individuals, when its immense interest in commerce is considered, for that requires that freedom should be fully enjoyed by all who are engaged in it. The subject of the agency having been passed upon by two Legislatures, and so recently and deliberately, it would seem presumption in me to propose a reconsideration of the measure.

And I further stated, and manifested, that my mission had no connection with abolition, or slaves, or slavery at the South. No remark was made by me on the allusion to the police law operating against me, because I did not know its details, and it seemed absurd to consider a suit at law as the proper means of commencing and carrying it on, as an infraction of law or a civil misdemeanor.

During the interview Captain Bossiere, who went passenger from New-York, in the packet with me to New Orleans, where he resided and was engaged in business, came in and stated that a large number of persons, several hundred draymen, &c. assembled last evening (the 2d instant) in the second municipality, and that speeches were made, urging and threatening, with imprecations, violence to the Massachusetts agent—to lynch him. That he spoke with great vehemence against such proceeding, and of his short acquaintance with the object of indignation and assault, which excited an influence, at the time, of allaying the ferment and preventing action—for he was of French extraction, had served on the lakes and sea, at the last war, and gave employment to a great many persons who were at the meeting. He said he concurred with Mr. Barker, that my life was in imminent danger.

On Mr. Barker and the gentlemen who were with him, leaving the room, he and Gen. Piere admonished me, if I *staid* in the city, to make immediate communication to the Governor, and also to the Mayor, as a measure of safety.

After they had retired, Captain Bossiere, with the most lively concern, assured me he thought my life was in constant danger, and earnestly advised me to take passage immediately for Mobile, and remain there until the Legislature should meet, which would be on the next Monday. He referred to a young gentleman, who accompanied him now, and was also present with him at the mass meeting just mentioned, for his opinion, &c. and he evinced his concurrence by his words and tears. Captain Bossiere spontaneously offered to hazard his life in my defence, should I be assailed.

The following are copies of my communications to the Governor and Mayor:

[COPY.]
NEW ORLEANS, at St. Louis Hotel, January 3, 1845.

Sir:—It is from motives of the most respectful and conciliatory nature that I inform you, as chief magistrate of the State of Louisiana, of my arrival here as an agent in behalf of citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in pursuance of resolves passed by the Legislature of that State. I have the honor to transmit herewith copies of the same, that your Excellency may, from your inspection and consideration, have certain knowledge of their object and provisions, and that they are compatible and loyal to the Constitution and Union. They do not call in question any institution in the State of Louisiana, but simply and solely relate to the immunities and privileges of the citizens of Massachusetts. They do not assume any dictation whatever to the State of Louisiana, but submit all action under them, and all the rights claimed, to the paramount and governing law in Louisiana—namely the law of confederacy. Your Excellency will most readily and heartily concur that the immunities and privileges of the citizens of Massachusetts, and the regulation of commerce and navigation among the States, by Congress, have no conceivable affinity to abolitionism or State rights. For otherwise the Constitution of the United States is the express image and organ of both! A monstrous idea, against which Massachusetts will contend as zealously and strenuously as any of the most gallant of her sister States. I am persuaded your Excellency will entirely agree with me that it is idle, it is absurd, to charge that State, from anything she has ever said, or done, with being for the abolition of Slavery by her own authority, or agency, in any of her sister States, or for an infringement of their rights in the Confederacy. No, she is contending, and only contending, for a judicial trial and decision against the infringement, the abolition of her own rights and those of her own citizens, not a particle, not a jot of the rights of other States does she aim or wish to destroy. She only wants them and herself to be governed by the law of the Confederacy, according to the Constitution and the decision of the tribunals established by it, otherwise she and her citizens are outlaws.

With sentiments of the greatest respect and consideration, I subscribe myself,

Your obedient servant,
H. HUBBARD.

To his Excellency, Gov. MOUTON.

[COPY.]
NEW ORLEANS, St. Louis Hotel, January 3, 1845.

Sir:—It is from motives of the most respectful and conciliatory nature that I inform you, as chief of the police of the city of New Orleans, of my arrival here as an agent in behalf of the citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in pursuance of resolves passed by the Legislature of that State. I transmit herewith copies of the same, that you may, from your inspection, have certain knowledge of their object and provisions, and that they are compatible and loyal to the Constitution and Union: inasmuch as they submit all action under them, to civil process and judicial investigation and decision, they do not seem liable to any objection in a government, where the judiciary is the common and ultimate arbiter of legal rights. With great respect,

Your obedient servant,
H. HUBBARD.

To the Honorable Mr. MONTAGUE,
The Mayor of the City of New Orleans.

Early Saturday evening (the 4th inst.) a gentleman called at my room, for the purpose, he said, of having a confidential conversation with me. I told him the person present, (Dr. Houghton,) was a friend of mine, and therefore, I should have no objection to his hearing it. But he declined conversing or remaining, unless, alone with me, and that gentleman left the room. He then gave his name, and said that he came to state certain facts and circumstances relative to the feelings and character of the citizens, particularly the French, but should offer no opinion or advice relative to my action; and I could judge, whether he could be influenced by any other than motives of humanity towards me. But he wished that his name should not be mentioned there or elsewhere by me, I expressed an unwillingness thus to commit myself to a stranger, until I had heard what he chose to communicate, and he must confide in my acting a liberal part towards him. He spoke of the feelings of the people concerning my mission—the great excitability of the French on the subject of Slavery, and their prompt and violent action when excited. He spoke of the mutual jealousy between the citizens and the country planters, and country members of the Legislature; and that the citizens, to repel the charge of supineness and indifference, and because they dare not confide in the discretion of the Legislature, were determined that I should not be in the city when the Legislature met. He said if it was known that he had come and given me this notice of my danger, his life would be in danger, and again requested and insisted that I should never mention his name anywhere.

Between ten and eleven o'clock, word was brought to my room that Mr. Genois, recorder of the city, wished to see me in the parlor. I immediately repaired hither. Mr. Genois introduced himself to me as recorder of the city, and Mr. Soul, and Mr. Conean, as city officers, as I understood. He then stated that, owing to circumstances, he had not, till that day, learned my arrival in the city as the Massachusetts agent. That on returning home from his office this evening, he had casually happened to be in the presence, and hearing of fifteen gentlemen who were in conversation concerning me. That one of them, and the leading man, Col. Downs, said with great rage and indignation, that I had been warned to leave the city the day after my arrival; that my remaining showed that I meant to stay and prosecute my mission, in defiance of the warning and of the insulted feelings of the Government and people; and with an oath, declared he "would go and lynch you." Mr. Genois averred that he interposed and pledged himself to come and have me leave, or promise to leave, the city immediately. That he came from the humane motive of saving my life, and no other; and if he had not engaged to come and do so, I might already have been murdered. He, therefore, warned me of my danger, and called on me to promise to leave the city immediately, and said unless I did, my life was not safe a moment. He appealed to Mr. Soul and Mr. Conenu for the correctness of what he said, and they decidedly affirmed it.

I acknowledged I could perceive no motive for his conduct towards me but humanity, but must beg leave to say, that I did not understand that the gentleman alluded to, who treated me with so much courtesy, meant to *warn* me to leave the city. Here Mr. Genois and Mr. Soul vehemently interrupted me—the latter saying, substantially, that it would be of no use to talk about the matter. A gentleman, who was near Mr. Genois, and appeared to be acquainted with him, said in an under tone to Mr. Genois, "hear him, hear him,"—which, on my attempt to proceed, and being interrupted, was repeated two or three times, when I was allowed to say in continuation, that they indeed mentioned the excitement my mission occasioned, and the difficulty of fulfilling it, but left the matter to my discretion. But I would frankly admit that that, with other evidences on the subject, had started a train of reflections, tending strongly to a conviction of my mind, that circumstances, beyond my control, prevented, and would prevent, my carrying out my mission to any effect; but I could not now state that it was formed, and therefore it would be premature for me to say I would leave.

Mr. Genois, with his associates, then arose. He advanced towards me, and, evidently laboring under strong emotion, thus expressed himself: "It was from no motive but that of humanity that I came to warn you of your danger. If you do not promise to leave the city immediately, your life is not safe this night; and if I should take you into custody, I could not protect you, for they would murder me in a moment; and if you *stay* here another night, your life will certainly be taken." His associates confirmed what he said, and they all immediately retired.

On the morning of the 5th, I wrote the letter to the Governor, of which the following is a copy:

[COPY.]
NEW ORLEANS, St. Louis Hotel, January 5, 1845.

Sir: My note of the 3d, sent by the porter, to be delivered to hand, but left, as he said, at the post-office, was not received, if staid, by your Excellency, till the morning of the 4th. Your Excellency will do me the favor to say, on any proper occasion, that I did not trouble you with anything concerning myself personally. Nor have I communicated to any one out of this city nor in it, any expression, stated to have been uttered by any of its citizens threatening my personal safety. So that, had it been fatally executed, it had, for all me, died with me. I confess to your Excellency, I have never, for an instant, felt any trepidation or alarm. I have ever been convinced, that there was a conservative sense and sentiment in every portion of our great community; and we all feel that even the *smallest* thread of life helps to make up an irrefragable moral bond of union. Then, Sir, how clearly did I see a high moral influence—which must pervade and prevail in this city—in the courteous, humane, and even delicate manner, in which her citizens, of the first respectability, conveyed their sentiments respecting my agency, and the excitement it occasioned. I could not refrain expressing these sentiments to your Excellency on reading the editorial in the Picayune of this morning, concerning conduct towards me and my agency. Temper and moderation will enable parties to agree, to differ—to acquiesce in a necessity that cannot be conquered; and they evince a determination, and a conviction of right, that nothing else can—they are fruitful of peace, which is the end of strife.

With great respect and consideration,
Your obedient servant.
H. HUBBARD.

Postscript.—Your Excellency will please not understand me as agreeing to my having expressed a determination to remain here until the Legislature assembles, (with the view mentioned in the Picayune.) I have no recollection of saying or thinking so. But I have said, that on being convinced that the mission must be fruitless, and of course produce only a useless excitement, I would decline acting at all, and remove all cause of excitement, so far as it was occasioned by my presence, provided I was left free to act voluntarily. And so I frankly avow to your Excellency; and further, that I am fully convinced that the mission must be fruitless, and will occasion useless excitement, and I shall prepare immediately to leave, *and return my commission to the source from which it originated.**

At the time, which was about noon, that Doctor Houghton was stepping from the hotel into the street, to hear the letter to the Governor, a gentleman whom I had before seen, and who had been long settled in Louisiana, and had held high public offices, as I had been informed, entered. On my mentioning the letter, he was anxious that it should be full and explicit—and especially as the people, or citizens, were then collecting on account of my agency, of which fact he came for the purpose of giving me notice. I invited him to my room, but he declined doing so, and said he should be unsafe if it was known that he had given me the notice, or if he was seen with me. He further gave it as his opinion, that my safety required that I should leave the city without delay; in fine, that I had no time to spare. Doctor Houghton, whose life had been threatened, as a friend to the emissary, expressing his most deciding opinion in concurrence on both points, determined my mind. I therefore made that full and explicit declaration at the conclusion of the letter, and set about acting accordingly. Settling my bills, and otherwise preparing to leave my lodgings, I followed my baggage to the steamboat James Madison, for Cincinnati, and engaged my passage. I left sooner than I should have done but for this interview—but without that, to have remained in the city over night, after the notice given me, by Messrs. Genois, Soule, and Conneau, could not possibly, have rendered any direct service to the cause I was sent to advance.

But, Sir, independent of considerations of personal safety, at that juncture, I was then fully convinced, and am on subsequent reflection, fortified in the conviction, that nothing could be effectually done by me in the agency with which I was charged. To characterize the mission as inefficient and unsafe, affords but a vague and imperfect representation of its impracticability and insecurity. A case occurring, calling for the agency to be put into practical operation, would sound the tocsin of alarm to arrest the agent, and all proceedings. No known witness, in favor of a prosecution by the agent, would be safe; or if so, reliable. No counsel, residing in New-Orleans, in Louisiana, would have engaged in behalf of a *free colored* person, entering within the limits of the State, against the prohibitory law of the State. I do not refer to the resolve introduced into the Legislature at its present session, making the interference in favor of such a person a penitentiary offence—for they do not create a new legal offence, but only denounce a new punishment; but were it otherwise, public sentiment, or the mobocracy, would supply the deficiency of the law. The law, the Government, and the people of Louisiana were, and are, against the mission. It was, therefore, from a feeling, and indignant feeling, that a commission conferring more of the power of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was alone sufficient for the exigency, which caused me to make use of the language in my last communication to the Governor of Louisiana, that I would "return my commission to the source from which it originated." Because it was impossible to do the most lawful and humane service I was sent to perform, or to stay in the proper and designated place for its performance, with any safety to my person or life, or that of any one who should assist or hold intercourse with me, was what determined me to hasten home to resign a sinecure which, for its cause, is an anomaly, and, but for one other instance, without a parallel in the history of the civilized world.

I, therefore, respectfully tender the resignation of my commission, and subscribe myself your faithful and obedient servant,
H. HUBBARD.

To His Excellency, GEORGE N. BRIGGS.

* The words in italics were added for explicitness, on the advice of the person, after referred to.

From the Baltimore Saturday Visitor.

THE BLACK LAWS OF MARYLAND.

We have nothing new from our Legislature with respect to the colored people, except the fact of the rejection of a bill offered by Mr. Williams, of Baltimore, which looked to the exemption of the free colored people of this city from the oppressive operations of the act repealing a portion of the 2d sec. of ch. 323 of 1831, whereby, if remaining out of the State more than thirty days, they lose their residence. It was rejected by a vote of 13 to 34.

The following letter has been received in response to our "cry for light." It will furnish a suitable key to the "position" of certain members of our legislature:

"HOUSE OF DELEGATES, Annapolis, Feb. 4, 1845.

"*Dear Sir,*—Below you will find a list of the yeas and nays, on the bill to provide for the registry and taxation of Free Blacks and Mulattoes, which I forward according to your request:

"*Yeas*:—Messrs. Thomas, Hopewell, Stewart, Worthington, of Anne Arundel; Johnson, of ditto: Walker, Stansbury of Baltimore county, Worthington, of Baltimore county; Ware, Harrington, Kene, Calvert, Fooks, Archer, Amos, Kent, Hance, Morsell, Hellen, Goldsborough, Long, Langford, Williams, of Somerset, Yellot, Graves, Kilgour.—26.

"*Nays*:—Messrs. Chapman, (Speaker,) Tilden, Randall, Bowdle, Bouchell, Holliday, of Cecil; Bowie, Harrison, Ford, George, Shriver, Johnson, of Fredrick; Poble, McKnett, Jump, Stansbury, of Batimore City; Springer, Gallagher, Motter, Hart, Fletcher, Thompson, Howard—23.

"Any further information you may desire in reference to our proceedings, I will communicate with pleasure.

"Yours truly, A MEMBER."

It will be seen that Dr. Graves was the only delegate from this city, who voted for this cruel bill. How he can reconcile that vote with the principles of Democracy, we are at a loss to conceive. Genuine Democracy, as defined by the best authorities, requires as few laws and as liberal as possible—teaching that the less legislation the better—and strikes a death blow to monopoly and oppression; and yet, there are men who claim to belong to this very school, while giving such very un-democratic votes as this! We assure Dr. G. that he has misapprehended the will and interests of his constituents, and will be held accountable by them! What says the editor of the "Lutheran Observer," who, by-the-by, is the only editor in the city who has had moral courage enough to second our views, although he, like ourself, was reared a *slaveholder*, whereas many of the other city editors were reared in the school of freedom! Let Dr. Graves heed well what he says—taking our assurance that we sincerely regret the necessity there is for the above censure of one towards whom our feelings have been altogether friendly.

We are sorry, very sorry, to see our Legislators at Annapolis, binding the chains more and more heavily around our down-trodden colored population; we mean not the slaves, but that portion of them who are *free*. The whole design of Maryland legislation on this subject, seems to be, to drive the free colored people out of the State by oppressive enactments. This may suit some of our citizens well enough; but there are thousands who are not so anxious thus summarily to get rid of this class of our population. *We want domestics and laborers just as much as Legislators and other officeholders*; and if the free colored people are expelled from our borders, their place may not be so speedily well supplied.

We have said nothing, hitherto, with respect to public demonstrations; but, as the question is asked on all hands, "where are the friends of the oppressed, the Methodists particularly, who spoke out so nobly on a former occasion?"—we now advise action through public meetings! Let them be called at once, and let there be a soulful outspeaking which our legislators shall not dare to disregard!

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, FEB. 20, 1845.

Take Notice.—There is a paper published in this city, called the New-York Standard, and letters and papers intended for us, often get miscarried to that office. Our friends and correspondents will please be sure and direct to us, as the *Anti-Slavery* Standard.

Unitarianism and Slavery.

It will be recollected that a letter on the subject of Slavery, was last year addressed, by the English Unitarian ministers, to their brethren in America.

A committee of ministers, not identified with the Anti-Slavery cause, to answer it, was appointed by the Unitarian ministers of Boston, and a reply reported at a subsequent meeting. Cool, cautious, and by no means demonstrative, no human being, it was supposed, could dissent from it on the ground that it went too fast or too far. The doubt on minds accustomed to movement was, whether it went at all. It was adopted by the meeting of Boston ministers, and the Rev. Messrs. LOTHROP, THOMPSON, and STETSON appointed to obtain signatures, and to forward it to England.

In the meantime, it was found that ever so guarded an expression, of so slight a feeling, as this letter conveyed, would prove to be more than some of the leading members of the denomination could bear. Then there was Dr. Dewey's disgrace to cover up; and the city pastors who sustained him through it to support. Furthermore, the action of the Unitarian association, in April last, virtually declaring that it had nothing to do with Slavery, alarmed the Committee on the reply, and drove them over the limitations of their responsibility. They postponed sending it for six months!—on the plea, first, that it was rendered *unnecessary* by the resolutions of the Unitarian association!—and secondly, to give the doubtful and dilatory more time for signature! A more bungling excuse for the neglect of a duty was never made; and thus the matter was regarded by the best members of the denomination. From the eleventh of April to the eleventh of October—a general meeting of the whole body intervening—the reply was detained by the Committee appointed to forward it, and the delay was, of course, construed—how could it fail to be so interpreted?—as evidence of a neglectful and contemptuous feeling regarding the brotherly communication of the English Unitarians.

There are those among the Unitarian clergy and laity, by whom this suspicion is not deserved; yet they have been made most unjustly to suffer it in common with the whole denomination, by the unjustifiable course of Messrs. Lothrop, Thompson, and Stetson.

There seems now, however, to be a disposition on the part of some leading Unitarian clergymen, and Mr. Lothrop among the number, to relinquish this original idea of the needlessness of a reply. Silence, it appears, is not "golden" any longer. There is need that *pro-slavery* should reply, though the *shadow* of anti-slavery was allowed to plead no such necessity.

The reader is referred to the pro-slavery department in a preceding column, for what pro-slavery said, as personified by ten leading Unitarian clergymen.

A word or two of information may not be out of place in this connection as to the circumstances of those gentlemen; since they express in their communication the doubt whether the Unitarian brethren have a sufficient knowledge of their circumstances to warrant rebuke, however tender, of any supposed unfaithfulness.

We suppose it will be competent to any one Massachusetts-born, and for many years a member of the Boston Unitarian church, and a close observer of its course from the outburst of the Anti-Slavery movement, to explain to the Unitarians of England, the precise circumstances of these gentlemen. They are the pastors of some of the wealthiest and most respectable of all the congregations in New England, as the world counts respectability; and consequently the most strongly *lied* with the South. Their hearers are Senators, who have pledged themselves to Virginian thousands, in the face of the sun, that the institution of the South shall not be assailed by the North:—they are merchants, whose ships have taken cargoes of slaves from Virginia to Louisiana:—they are the thongmakers and the auctioneers of negro-cloth, and the buyers, and sellers, and freighters, and manufacturers of cotton: these are they who hold snug berths in the custom-house, and places of honor in the State-house, at the will of a pro-slavery cabinet or a corrupt political newspaper:—these are they, every man of whom is yearly sworn, *per alium* or *per se*, to uphold the Constitution, by which the Courts send back *fugitive* slaves, and the Executive calls out troops to quell *insurgent* slaves, and by which the great slaveholder of the South has a grant of as many votes for the perpetuity of his system as a whole free township at the North: these are they, who fraternize with the vilest separator of mother and child as a Christian brother; who even ostentatiously give to the slave-dealer the social sanction that they refuse with scorn to the pick-pocket: who give their daughters to the slaveholders' sons, and rejoice over the inheritance of slaves that their sons receive with the slaveholders' daughters: who dread to lose credit in the world by being better than their neighbors, or to have their respectable religious denomination lose the chance of building itself up yet stronger among the sects that hedge it round, by taking any higher moral ground than they: who wish not to make "our infant denomination at the South" any weaker by "uncalled for" action, or any poorer at the North by "driving away our best men with Anti-Slavery nonsense."

Such are the "surroundings" of this "new council of ten;" and they say, "with slaveholding our hearers have little to do." (!!!)

Till within ten years, there was not a village in New England where it did not add to a man's reputation and dignity—where it was not, in fact, equivalent to a patent of nobility, to have it told before his arrival, that he was the owner of a hundred slaves. That it is so no longer, is not owing to the help, but has been effected in spite of the opposition of those gentlemen. They have not rebuked the crying sin of their times, but have evaded the obligation by denying the necessity. They have been silent as to the wrongs and the sufferings of those in bondage, when, as the heralds of their Lord, whose name is REDEEMER, they should have cried aloud, and spared not, and shown the people their transgression and the house of Jacob their sin. They have sinfully and treacherously yielded up their pastoral trust to the pressure of that public sentiment, which forbade the very mention of the subject of Slavery. The State-house can be obtained to plead the cause of the suffering and the dumb, on whose prostrate necks this whole community is builded; Faneuil Hall opens wide its welcoming door, and clothes with its sacred sanction the advocate of three millions of our countrymen in bondage: but which of the churches of these gentlemen can be obtained for the delivery of the mildest, the gentlest, the simplest exposition of the mere first principles of Freedom, even from the truest, the noblest, the most irreproachable of their own ranks?

And why can they not be obtained?

Because it is, in these cases, "like people, like priest." These gentlemen dare not speak out themselves, and therefore those that might enter in they hinder.

They cannot plead ignorance of duty, for they are the learned of the land. They have the Bible, and *say* they believe it;—the Declaration of Independence, and *profess* to make its principles their own;—the light of a full knowledge of the circumstances of their people, and confess to have the best means of knowing where duty calls.

Out of their own mouths they are condemned.

We give in this testimony with inexpressible sorrow. That ten leading clergymen, Massachusetts-born and nurtured, can, at this late day, with all the light of the last fourteen years pouring upon them, be found to sign such an unworthy document as the one to which we refer, is stronger proof of the degradation to which Slavery can sink a land, than anything which has transpired in all those years. The mobbing of Abolitionists, the expulsion of Hoar, the branding of Walker, the near shadow of Texas, are all less significant of national degradation and ruin, than this pitiful ebullition of feeble half-cloaked contempt for things sacred and holy, this melancholy exposure of dwarfishness of soul in those who claim to lead the van of American Christianity,—and to whom we ought to be able to look to strengthen our aspirations after virtue, and to confirm our faith in religion.

If these are indeed the elite of our land, God pity it! If these are the true representatives of the Church

We have long ago learned to judge men by their fruits. We lament not over differences of opinion, but over errors of conduct: and we hold Mr. Rogers's conduct in this whole Herald affair to be utterly unjustifiable.—C.

Mr. Hubbard.

The statement of this travelling agent of Massachusetts, will be found in to-day's paper. Let nobody fail to read it. It is a psychological fact which no one should permit to pass unnoticed who is a student, or an observer only, of the various phrases which humanity, and especially that portion of it which dwells in these twenty-six States, can present. Cowardice and poltroonery have still a meaning, but their definitions fail to reach this case. There needs a diminutive of these terms of an infinitisimal quantity to define the character of this document. Pliny, or some other ancient writer, believed that there were men without heads, and others whose heads were under their arms; but it remains for our age to produce one—I hope the species is not large—who have a head with apparently nothing in it worth the having, and which for all practical purposes might have been under his arm, or left at home in a bandbox, as well as on his shoulders. Of heart, nothing need be said, for the existence of that is not even to be suspected.

To say that this document is one tissue of unmitigated twaddle, is an insult to all twaddlers, who believe, at least, though others may not see it, that they have an idea of some sort. The utmost stretch of charity cannot believe that this man had the faintest notion of what he was about when he made the statement under consideration. Indeed the truest charity will acquit him of having any knowledge even of personal identity, or moral responsibility. I would n't say a severe thing of him if I could, for he does n't deserve it. The "old Mother Hubbard," of our nursery classics, was not more of an old woman than this remarkable namesake of hers, and is in no degree more deserving of pity for her misfortunes, for she was n't half so much mystified by her experiences as he has been by his. He ought to be immortalized in verse also, as a legitimate descendant. If she is not his ancestor, then it is a good case for those who believe in the transmigration of souls.

Governor Briggs thought proper to send with this report an accompanying message. The dignity of station sometimes requires men to do very ridiculous things, but the Governor may congratulate himself, that though he should be in office for the rest of his natural life, it isn't in the nature of things that he should a second time be called upon to perform such a duty as this. He must be one of those great men who are never known to smile, and who, on no provocation, forget the dignity of official position.

Mr. Hoar's case was bad enough; but he deserves at least the credit of having staid sufficiently long in Charleston, to provoke excitement enough to get himself fairly frightened. The merit belongs to him of running away, because he was afraid. Mr. Hubbard run because he feared the appearance of the spirit which he *didn't* invoke. He wouldn't run the risk even of seeing his own shadow lest it should frighten him. He is wiser than those who think that "prudence is the better part of valor," for he would run no risk of exercising such prudence. A coward has the merit of having been in danger; but who will invent a name for the man who couldn't wait to prove himself a coward?

Is there manliness enough in the Legislature of Massachusetts, to feel and to say, that they have been disgraced in a way which has probably never before fallen to the lot of any civilized State? The South is arrogant and tyrannical. She has wielded the whip of the overseer over her Northern vassals for half a century, till patience, long ago, ceased to be a virtue. But her vassals have been patient so long, that their sufferance has become ridiculous. She has almost ceased to be worthy of pity or contempt. Her Faneuil Hall Conventions, and addresses, and reports, and resolutions, are only deserving of, and can only excite laughter while she permits herself to be represented by agents like this Hon. Samuel Hubbard. Tyrants are to be feared and hated, but centuries of personal slavery can alone command pity for their victims who forget that they are men. One can find something to admire in the bold and haughty bearing of Southern tyranny, even as we remember that Lucifer is a *fallen* angel. But there is nothing admirable in a man who walks God's earth as if begging pardon of his fellow-creatures that he is on it, and apologizes for being in the similitude of man because he couldn't help it. The South will remember that the North has rights, when she herself remembers it, but so long as she forgets it, she can only look for the treatment of a voluntary slave.—G.

The Religious Anti-Slavery Convention.

This, it will be understood, was a Convention of clergymen, and lay members of the Church. It was called *religious* because the popular piety of the country was the father of it, and not because there is any religion or Christianity in Anti-Slavery itself. The Anti-Slavery which refuses fellowship or union to the "sum of all villianies," in Church or State, is infidelity. Just what this Convention says now is religious, was infidelity not long since when Abolitionists said it; and what is infidelity now, in us, will be religious also not a great while hence, when public sentiment shall drive these laggards up to a higher position. They hang tightly by the skirts of the politicians, and measure very strictly their Christianity by the standard of morality in political caucuses and bar-room harangues. The circle round the stove of a country shop on a winter's evening will give a truer indication of what the religion of the people says on the subject of Slavery, than the preacher in the pulpit, for he takes his clue from that, and preaches as the deacon tells him the people think. The weather-cock on the steeple is n't a surer sign of which way the wind blows, than the preacher beneath it is of the popular breeze. He will quote Paul on one Sunday in proof of the truth of that, which the Sunday before he said was of the devil and Abby Kelley—that is, if the people think Abby Kelley is in the right, let the devil say what he may.

This Convention met at Hallowell, Maine, on the 22d ultimo. They passed a series of resolutions which might have been concocted from the Report of a County Anti-Slavery meeting, any time these last ten years. One of them, with its preamble, is only worthy of notice as a sign of the times. The preamble asserts, first, that the "Slaveholding churches of this country are in fellowship with most of the non-slaveholding churches." Very good. The admission is a frank one. It asserts, also, that "the general invitation to the communion given in our churches includes them"—the slaveholding churches. In other words, the Church has drawn the mantle of Christianity over the sin of stealing and enslaving men. We have been for years laboring to establish this fact, and I am glad to see it at length acknowledged as true by such high authority as a clerical Convention in the State of Maine. But what then? Is there no duty incumbent upon a Church in such a position, and which would be shaken to its foundation, if one of its freezing members should rob a neighbor's wood-pile, and be suffered to go unpunished? Listen to the brethren. "Therefore Resolved, that is the duty of the Ministers of the Gospel, to restrict the invitation to the communion against slave holders and those who justify Slavery from the Bible." Are these mere words of course, or are they not? If they are not, then, to be consistent with their own acknowledged duty, they must abandon their General Conventions, and Assemblies. They must refuse to commune with those who are in fellowship with slaveholders, and those who justify Slavery from the Bible. More than this they must do, if they would act consistently. It is no worse to justify Slavery from the Bible than from the Constitution. Indeed it is not so bad. For if it is acknowledged that the Bible condemns it, and the Constitution justifies it, and if we abide by the Constitution, then we set up the Constitution as paramount to the Bible—the law of man above the law of God, as it is displayed in the Bible. Do these good people know what they are saying? or don't they mean to say anything in particular, but merely by ambiguous words to seem to say something, and so prevent any positive action? The position they have taken here is, in effect, that in which Abolitionists have stood for years. They have reached the utmost verge of our fanaticism, and anti-churchism, and infidelity. Will they maintain their ground? I hope so, but I doubt it. I do not believe that the clergy of Maine are yet ready to maintain the doctrine of "no union with slaveholders," even in ecclesiastical affairs. They have only, I fear, given another proof of their time-serving policy, and their determination, by cunningly designed words, to maintain their sway, and prevent any effectual action on the subject. The most that can be expected of them is, that like Brother Colver, in Boston, they will refuse to take the slaveholder's hand, but will give their own to brother Sharpe, who has his firmly clasped in that of the slaveholder. They need to be watched.—G.

Those Books.

Mr. Lewis Tappan advertises for sale "a large assortment of Anti-Slavery Books, Pamphlets, and Prints, at very reduced prices." He purchased them, he says, "at less than half of the old retail prices, at the auction sale of the publications of the American Anti-Slavery Society." This auction took place, if I remember aright, the year after the transfer of the Emancipator. Is none of that portion left on which money was raised the year before? Or is it thought best not to mention that transaction in the hope that it is forgotten? However, Mr. Tappan shall have the benefit of this advertisement, in the present organ of the Society, for precisely the same consideration that the Society obtained for its former one, and for that portion of the depository on which money was advanced to send Messrs. Birney and Stanton on a tour to England—namely, *nothing*. Have any of our readers a disposition to purchase? Perhaps some files of that "little Anti-Slavery Annual," the Standard Extra, would be taken in exchange for these publications which it is so desirable to dispose of at "very reduced prices." No wonder they will be sold at a pecuniary sacrifice. Money can never pay the price given for them. What that was, an impartial future will decide when more than the books shall be in dust.

Massachusetts upon Texas.

Resolutions were passed in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, on the 11th instant, against Annexation, ayes 188, nays 41. The second of these resolutions declares that, "As the powers of legislation granted in the Constitution of the United States, to Congress, do not embrace a case of the admission of a foreign State or foreign territory, by legislation, into the Union, *such an act of admission would have no binding force whatever on the people of Massachusetts.*"

Will she dissolve the Union so far as she is concerned? If she does not mean that, these words are a mere empty bravado, which will only entitle her to the contempt of her sister States, and render her deserving, if anything can, of the treatment which she has so long and so meekly received, and which cowardice always gets at the hands of bullies. A long report accompanies these resolves, for which we have no room this week. Her Legislature is prolific of Documents just now, but it is hoped that all her zeal will not evaporate in these. She stands in a nobler position now, and has dearer interests at stake than in '75 and '76. It needs that the children shall have the spirit of the fathers to consummate in a nobler way the revolution which was only then begun, not finished. She may not yet be ready, but the day is fast approaching when she will be worthy of her old renown, true to her old spirit, and equal to her present want.

Anti-Texas Convention.

The Emancipator says, in speaking of this meeting at Faneuil Hall:

The movement of the non-resistants to dissolve the Union, met with extremely little favor. It was thought wiser to use the power the Union gives us to vindicate our rights.

That the Convention was not ready to act upon the only manly course that is left for Massachusetts to adopt, is very true. But it is equally true that no man was received with half the enthusiasm that greeted Mr. Garrison, and no sentiments met with nearly so hearty a response, as the Disunion doctrines which he advanced. The Emancipator may as well spare its slurs. The anti-slavery of the Liberty party men who were present, was in nowise distinguished, and apparently not one whit more sincere than that of the Whigs and Democrats who addressed the Delegates. Mr. Lovejoy indeed went a little beyond his fellows. But another of their distinguished champions excited but little attention, and called forth but little enthusiasm, until he said that "posterity would not find the marble white enough on which to engrave the name of Wm. Lloyd Garrison." The chief purpose of some of their speakers seemed to be to prove that the Constitution was an anti-slavery instrument, while the aged judges on the platform had very much the air of men who thought that a decent respect to their common sense entitled them to be spared the infliction of such nonsense as that. Massachusetts will yet be ready to dissolve the Union before Liberty party has decided whether a slave can be called a "person held to service."

Public Schools.

The people of Nantucket held a meeting a few days since, to consider the right of colored children, to be admitted on an equal footing with others in their public schools. This is not a new movement among the people of that Island, and it is gratifying to see their determination to banish the spirit of *caste* in this particular from their community. Their example should be followed, not only throughout the commonwealth of Massachusetts, but wherever a single Abolitionist can be found. It may not only result in a great practical good in giving the means of education to those who are now deprived of it, but is also a method of agitating the question of the equality of the two races, which is, in fact, a dissemination of anti-slavery principles. We must not forget, as I sometimes think we are too prone to do, that we owe a duty to the free black, as well as to the slave.

The Nantucket people have taken measures to bring the question before the Legislature of the State, and passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the colored children of this town have an equal right to all the schools, in common with all other children.

Resolved, That the school committee in depriving them of that right, committed towards them an act of great injustice.

Resolved, That we sympathize with our colored brethren, and will unite with them in their petition to our Legislature, for an amendment of the school law, securing to all children equal rights.

The Cherokees.

There are signs of a war without our going beyond our own borders, to seek it. The Government seems preparing to embroil itself in a struggle, which is likely to take place among the Cherokees. Slavery was the original cause of this trouble. It is only a repitition of the origin of the Florida war. The Indians were to be removed because fugitives found a refuge among them, and they refused to go, because their wives and children, formerly slaves, were claimed as such by those who had preceded them. The Tribune gives the following posture of affairs at present. But the facts just stated are the original cause of the difficulty:

Over twenty years ago, our Government bribed some Cherokee Chiefs to sign a treaty surrendering a large portion of their lands to Georgia, Alabama, &c. These Chiefs betrayed their trust in so doing, and the foremost among them was put to death for it. But a part of the Nation did about that time agree to remove West on certain conditions, and departed. Several years afterward, our Government, by the most execrable perfidy and tyranny, compelled the remainder of the Nation to emigrate on pain of extermination. These were sent by us to the same territory on which the "Western Cherokees," or previous emigrants, had been located. The two parties were known to be at deadly feud; yet here they were expected to occupy the same lands, and form one harmonious people! The result has been what must have been anticipated. The "Ross party," or latest emigrants, form a large majority of the whole, and carry matters with a high hand, regarding the Ridge party, or first emigrants, as the authors of their humiliation and exile. Thus, the original emigrants find themselves treated as aliens and culprits on the soil which they fondly deemed their own, by men who came among them but yesterday, and then because they must. Hence come heart-burnings, feuds, collisions, which obstruct the moral and intellectual improvement of the people, and threaten a desolating civil war.

The cause of all this mischief and misery is to be found in the criminal recklessness of our Government. The removal of the Cherokees was consummated in defiance of every dictate of foresight or justice. And now we are to violate all our late engagements, as we have already violated all our older treaties, by interfering in the troubles we have provoked, and utterly subverting the independence which we had sworn to maintain. Thus, one wrong leads to, and compels another.

Hon. John P. Hale.

The Democratic State Convention of New Hampshire, at its late meeting, declared, with only one dissenting voice, that Mr. Hale's nomination as a candidate of that party for Congress, was null and void. Such is the reward the faithless to party receives, for being faithful to the principles which the party professes. New Hampshire well deserves the name of being the most obedient tool of despotism. The South should pass laws giving a *bonus* for all overseers from that State, for the most servile slaves always make the most unscrupulous tyrants. It is only about once in a quarter of a century that she sends forth a man. The last one, before Mr. Hale, was in John Randolph's time, and he only showed symptoms of being refractory on some question which the slave-power was passing through Congress. In reply, Mr. Randolph said,—"The gentleman from New Hampshire threatens to go against the measure. I tell that gentleman, we have bought them before, and whenever we want them, we will buy them again, *dog cheap*, Sir." He did n't live to see to how low a depth of degradation New Hampshire would gladly stoop. She has lost even the last distinctive characteristic of Yankeeism—that of making a bargain. Even the pride of the poorest slave, of being worth something, has deserted her. There is n't manhood enough left in her Democracy, to demand a price for its villany.

A Fugitive Slave Case.—A decision has recently been made in Cincinnati, upon a writ of *habeas corpus* to free a person claimed as a slave. The Court, after a long and patient hearing of counsel, delivered the fugitive into the hands of his claimant. There were some symptoms of a mob, but no serious disturbance occurred. The poor fellow was taken back into hopeless bondage. This is according to the bond, and so long as we are a party to it, we have no right to complain. We should blame, not the South, but the North, for every case of this sort. We are slave-catchers by the Constitution, and are scoundrels if we refuse to perform the work we promise, so long as we abide by the instrument.

Death by the Law.—John Gordon, the murderer of Mr. Sprague, was hung at Providence on Friday last. The exhibition was witnessed only by some friends of the victim, and a few amateurs. When everything was ready, the religious official, laying his hand upon Gordon's shoulder, said:

"*Courage, brother John, courage!* You are about to join the immortal band of your countrymen who have been sacrificed on the altar of superstition and prejudice."

To which John replied:

"I do. I forgive all my enemies and persecutors. I forgive them, for they know not what they do."

What the priest meant by this ghostly comfort, is not exactly apparent.

A "Rowland for an Oliver."

The following petition has been presented to the Massachusetts Legislature. Of course the petitioners did not contemplate the possibility of their prayer being granted, and if they are Abolitionists, could not wish it. What is wrong in South Carolina, cannot become right in Massachusetts as a retaliatory measure. As a means, however, of showing how absurd the conduct of the former State is, such a document is very opportune, and will place the subject in its true light before many minds that could not otherwise be reached. Viewed in this light, it is unexceptionable, and probably few would see it in any other.

To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives, &c. of Massachusetts—

Humbly show the undersigned citizens of Groton, in said Commonwealth, that certain wicked persons, coming from States in this Union, where the abominable sin of Slavery is not only tolerated, but cherished as one of their dearest institutions, and especially from the State of South Carolina—a State reduced to the lowest point of moral, if not intellectual, degradation, by the constant and unrestrained intercourse with a class of beings considered by them, as brutes—have long been accustomed to come and reside in this Commonwealth, and by their demoralizing sentiments and doctrines have exerted a most pernicious influence upon the morals of our citizens,—we therefore pray your honorable bodies that, as a "police regulation," a law may be enacted, with suitable penalties, requiring all persons coming from any State in the Union where negroes and mulattoes, are not held and deemed to be citizens, to give bonds, with sufficient surety, in a reasonable sum, for their good behaviour while they shall reside in this Commonwealth.

February 3d, 1845.

Reminiscences of the Fair.

I cut from the Liberator the following paragraphs with the above caption:

Dear Mr. Garrison:

In sketching the outline of the Fair, last week, I did not attempt any filling up; but on looking it over in print, I am struck by imperfections in the outline. How could I have omitted the names of the towns of Dedham and Chelsea? Nothing can justify the oversight but the fact that the pressure of anti-slavery affairs, at the time of writing, was uncommonly severe.

No tables were prettier, or more available to the cause, than these two. Chelsea, with its banner of true-blue and gold, and its devoted hearts to bear up that banner, in spite of all obstacles, was on the ground at the earliest hour of rendezvous; and by its beautiful arrangement of exquisitely wrought articles, gave an impetus to the flood-gate of business in that part of the hall. Edward Davis, of Philadelphia, will be glad to hear that it was by such hands that a part of his donation of silks was doubled in value to the treasury. Dedham was "not a whit behind the very chiefest." Its beautiful sheaves of dryed grasses and waving ferns, and autumn-tinted leaves, now lend an added grace to the city drawing-rooms, where its tapestried flowers are in such high repute.

The sum of $5, credited to Charlotte Austin, should have been placed to the account of Charlotte Austin Joy. M. W. C.

This reminds me to state what, I am told, is not generally understood, that the receipt for one dollar given by John A. Collins, is in fact a receipt in full of several hundreds due to Mr. Collins from the American Society, which he thus generously relinquishes.

Father Mathew.

A letter from this apostle of Temperance is published the United States Gazette. He still hopes to visit this country. The following is the letter:

"Cork, December 21st, 1844.

"My dear Friend,—Whilst, I acknowledge with gratitude your generous gift, it affects me to be burdensome to any one in the States, before I was privileged to accomplish the dearest wish of my heart—a visit to America.

"Your letter is brief, but like the dove returning to the ark with the olive branch, announces that harmony and peace have again established their throne in Philadelphia. May the recent event be forgotten forever!

"The prospect of fulfilling my promise, and of taking by the hand the high-minded, self-denying friends in our happy country, consoles and cheers me. As yet I cannot name a time, for the unexpected embarrassments that fell upon me, have deranged all my plans. Last June I was resolved on crossing the Atlantic; but these painful, though then concealed circumstances, prevented me. They have accidentally been made public, and with the munificence of my friends, I will soon be free to resume my exertions in the sacred cause of temperance.

"The exceeding promptness of your donation for my relief, enhances its value an hundred fold, for it has reached me before I could think my embarrassments were known in the United States. That God may confer on you all spiritual and temporal happiness, is the ardent prayer of

"Yours, gratefully and devotedly,

"THEOBALD MATHEW."

Foreign Mails.—The negotiation between the two Governments for the transportation of the mails between England and the British provinces, has been concluded at Washington. The mails from England will hereafter be landed at Boston instead of Halifax, and those from Canada will be taken to Boston. The contract for the conveyance of the mail has been made by the Post Office Department for the British Government, with the Concord Railroad Company.

Whipped in.—The resolutions in favor of Annexation which were indefinitely postponed a few days since in the Maine House of Representatives, have been since passed by a vote of 63 to 44.

Erratum.—In the leading article in last week's paper, twelfth line from the bottom of the first column, for "portion of the clergy," read "position of the clergy."

Iowa and Florida.—A bill has passed the House for the admission into the Union of two new States, to be formed from these territories. More overseers certainly, and probably more doe-faces.

From our Washington Correspondent.

Washington City, Feb. 14, 1845.

Yesterday Mr. Morehead opened the discussion on the Texas question in the Senate. He opposed it in a brilliant speech on the grounds of expediency mainly, and partially on the grounds of its extending the area of Slavery. Mr. Buchanan followed to-day in favor of the bill.

In the House on yesterday *the bill* for the admission of Iowa and Florida as new States was passed. The friends of Florida and Slavery hitched the two together in one bill, and in spite of all efforts to separate them, they were together hurried into the Union, almost without discussion. Florida could not be rejected without rejecting Iowa with her section positively forbidding Slavery. The provision in the Constitution of Florida for erecting her into two States, was however stricken out, and Mr. Douglass, one of her friends was, on the question being directly put to him by Mr. Adams, compelled to say that the articles in her Constitution, prohibiting the ingress of free colored persons were null and void, as far as free colored citizens of other States of this Union were concerned.

The President and Vice President elect arrived last night amidst the firing of cannon.

O. I. C. U.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

Later from England.

By the packet ship Roscius, Eldridge, which arrived yesterday, we have dates from Liverpool to the 12th January, and from London to the 11th.

The news by this arrival is not important. The "Georgetown Hoax," or the account of a great riot in Ohio, is commented upon by the leading papers, as affording a sad comment upon Republican institutions.

It was currently reported that her Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint Sir, Henry Pottinger, Governor General of Canada, in the place of Sir Charles Metcalfe, who is seriously indisposed.

The Morning Advertiser says: "A correspondent informs us, on what he asserts to be unquestionable authority, that it is the intention of Ministers, in the approaching session of Parliament, to abolish the duty on raw cotton, to reduce the duty on tea, to make £300, not as at present £150 a year, the minimum of annuity liable to the income tax; and to reduce the present reduced 3 per cents to 2 3-4 per cent, secured for the term of twenty years."

An attempt is making by the Westminster Review, and some of the weekly journals to support a property tax, as distinguished from an income tax. They wish Ministers to maintain the former, and abandon the latter; and they tell us truly, that a property tax levied on land, buildings, and the funds, would yield about £3,000,000 a year.

IRELAND.

The Dublin Monitor mentions another rumor—of a conspiracy discovered in Tipperary, to murder the Archbishop of Dublin. It is said that Dr. Murray had received from a magistrate of Cork, a letter of warning to that effect. The Monitor does not attach much credit to the report. The Freeman's Journal treats it as a "Saxon" calumny. The Dublin Evening Post regards it as a "fabrication" imposed on the Cork magistrate.

The rent for the week ending on Monday, the 5th, (including the O'Connell contribution of £51,) was £244.

FRANCE.

The debates on the addresses had not begun on Tuesday, in either Chamber. The Committee of the Deputies had examined four Ministers, but were understood to have made little way. On that day, Count Portalis read the draft of the address in the Committee of the Peers.

According to the correspondent of the Times, the British Government has demanded from that of France, "a categorical answer to the question, whether or not the French Government was affecting at the same time to join in the endeavors of the British Government to maintain the *status quo* in Texas, whilst in reality it was giving, through the King, to the American Minister, an assurance that in no event would any steps be taken by his Government, in the slightest degree hostile, or which would give the United States just cause of complaint." The Siecle adds a statement which it does not guarantee, though derived from a respectable source:—

"It is said that England was disposed, for the sake of M. Guizot, to make some concessions relative to the right of search, on condition that our Cabinet should join that of London to obtain an European declaration against the Annexation of Texas to the United States; in other words, on condition that France should eventually make comaon cause with England against the American Union."

From the New Orleans Picayune, February 6.

MEXICO.

Santa Anna Captured!—The schooner Water Witch arrived last night from Vera Cruz, which place she left on the 26th ultimo.

Col. William Boardman came passenger in her, with despatches from Mr. Shannon, to the United States Government.

By this arrival, we are in possession of the fact of Santa Anna's capture. Since our last advices, he had made several attempts upon the city of Puebla; attacking it at the head of four thousand troops, one half of which were cavalry. In these endeavors he was repulsed with considerable loss.

Soon afterwards he left the army, about four leagues below Peubla, with an escort of several hundred men, and proceeded towards Jalapa. Before arriving at the city he parted with his escort, and attempted to make his escape to the mountains on foot in the disguise of a friar.

On the 15th of January he was discovered in a baranca, (ravine,) near a little Indian village, called Jito, some leagues from Jalapa, by a couple of Indians, who were hunting. The dogs belonging to the Indians became restive and furious, the Indians followed the direction of their barking, and found the Dictator, who offered them his watch, and such money as he had about him, if they would guide him to his hacienda. This they refused to do, but gave the alarm, and he was taken prisoner.

When he was captured he had taken off his cork-leg, on account of the inflammation produced by walking upon it, and was carried by his servants.

On the 20th of January he was put in the prison at Perote, where he now is.

Col. Boardman met Paredes on the road between Mexico and Puebla, marching at the head of the Government forces, to give Santa Anna battle; but the fortunes of the Despot became so desperate that he deserted the army, and was captured before Paredes came up to him.

Owing to the lateness of the night, we have not been able to read our files, which are from the city of Mexico to the 20th of January.

Our private correspondence gives the particulars of his movements since the last dates.

From the Bulletin.

In a letter from the captive ex-President, to the Governor of the Department of Vera Cruz, dated Jalapa, 17th ultimo, he complains most bitterly of his treatment by his guards and the populace. He says his habitation presents the appearance of a guard-room, with a sentinel constantly by his bed—he cannot sleep—the officials will permit none of his friends to have any intercourse with him,—and in fact, his condition is vastly more rude and degrading than whilst he remained a prisoner in the hands of the Texans. His entry into Jalapa resembled a triumphal procession, conducting him as a conquered foe to his country. "Indeed," he continues, "I would prefer death to such insults—which are neither noble nor decent."

Senora Santa Anna paid her husband a visit in camp, accompanied by her brother, a few days before his flight. She alone is faithful to the tyrant.

Gen. Arista, the instrument of Santa Anna, in the murders at Tobasco, has published a manifesto against his fallen leader, and declares that, although they now all unite against him, they must not *lose sight* of Texas.

Still Later.—Farther news has been received by a later arrival from Vera Cruz, to the 31st ultimo. Nothing additional of importance to the above intelligence is received. Santa Anna still remains in prison. The Grand Jury had under consideration a proposition from him, in which he promised to abandon the country, if permitted, never to return.

Died.

At Rochester, on the 20th of 1st mo. last, of Scarlet Fever, aged four years and eleven months, Matilda, daughter of Isaac and Amy Post of that city.

Near Rochester, on the 17th of October last, of Typhus Fever, Anna, daughter of John Gorney, aged 22 years. Her father and two brothers are left to mourn the loss of one from their already lonely circle, who contributed much to their comfort. She was a warm friend of the slave, and one of the most faithful and devoted female laborers in the Female Anti-Slavery Society. She never allowed a ride of five miles, through storms or mud, to prevent her uniting with the Society, and several times walked that distance. She neglected not the calls of the poor at home, often expressing a desire to do all she could for suffering humanity: and when the last summons came, she often repeated, "Steward, give up thy stewardship; thou hast been faithful over a few things." Thus, we trust, she has united with those who have been made "rulers over many."

One of thy little band, fair Freedom!
Hath departed. Pause awhile
Thy step, which treadeth doubtingly
On ground where sleep and wake thy direst foes,
And drop upon her sepulchre—a tear!
'Tis a frail form that lieth there: and life
Perhaps had burthened her. Yet she had borne
Some others' than her own. Her heart
Had lent its throbbings to the suffering ones
Of earth—the abject and enslaved;
And buckling on her Woman's breast Thy shield
And Truth's, she had stood up, in weakness strong,
Amid thy banded few, who yet
"Faithful among the faithless" may be found.

—[communicated.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

For the Standard—from Jan. 18th, 1845 to Feb. 8th 1845.

Parvin Wright, Coleraine, Ohio,	$2 00	
Rev. A. McFarland, Utica, Ohio,	3 00	
William S. Herrick, Beverly, Mass	2 00	
John J. Lewis, Pendleton, Ia.	2 00	
Samuel Potter, Princeton, Mass.	2 00	
J. Baxter, Boston, Mass.	2 00	
David Irish, Quaker Hill, N. Y.	1 00	
Gideon Scofield, Waterloo,	1 00	
Horace Gustins, "	2 00	
H. Daily, Southampton, Mass.	50	
S. D. Shackleford, Franklin, Mississippi,	2 00	
Edwin Wilbur, Commons, R. I.	2 00	
William Robinson, Mount Pleasant, Ohio,	2 00	
Lewis Taber, " " "	1 00	
Warren Lincoln, Taunton, Mass.	2 00	
James P. Boyce, Lynn, Mass.	3 00	
Lydia S. Ford, N. Abington, Mass.	2 00	
Mrs. Samuel May, Boston,	2 00	
George Sharpe, Abington, Ct.	2 00	
Samuel Barret, Concord, Mass.	1 00	
Benjamin Snow, Fitchburg, Mass.	20 00	
Dr. H. I. Bowditch, Boston,	2 00	
Solomon Fussell, Pendleton, Ia.	4 00	
Dr. S. G. Howe, Boston,	5 00	
J. Sexton, Fall River, Mass.	2 00	
J. T. Loines, New-York,	2 00	
James Allen, Wickford, R. I.	50	
	——	52 00
Donations.		
Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,	1,917 00	
Wm. Ashby, Newburyport, Mass.	5 00	
Mrs. Ashby, " "	5 00	
B. H. Smith, Rockport, "	25	
Jer. Poland, Essex, "	25	
Loud,	1 00	
M. V. Bennett, N. Bridgewater,	1 00	
M. C. Nickerson, Boston,	1 00	
Eliza Lee Follen, West Roxbury,	10 00	
Mary J. Brown,	50	
Lucinda Hosmer,	50	
D. J. Paul,	50	
T. K. Bartlett,	1 00	
Israel H. Brown,	1 00	
Jno. Mitchel,	1 00	
Samuel Barrett,	4 00	
Jarvis E. Goodrich,	1 00	
Sarah Fisher,	1 00	
E. L. Capron, Uxbridge,	5 00	
David F. Patch,	25	
Mary G. Chapman, Boston,	5 00	
Samuel May, Leicester, in part for pledge in May,	10 00	
Friends collected at meeting of Massachusetts Society,	13 14	
Collections by S. S. Foster.		
Friends in Portland,	10 00	
J. G. Skinner, South New Market, N. H.	1 00	
Friends in " " " "	1 78	
Edmund and Solomon Pendergast, Durham, N. H.	5 00	
Luther Melindy, Amherst, N. H.	1 00	
Elizabeth Melindy, " "	25	
Julia Ann Chickering, " "	5 00	
Dr. Herrick, Lyndeboro',	50	
Friends in Milford,	3 00	
Abby P. Brown,	50	
Dorothy Whitney, New Ipswich, N. H.	1 00	
Davis, Peterboro,	1 00	
B. Bancroft, New Ipswich, N. H.	1 00	
E. Dodge, New Boston,	1 00	
Collections by Charles L. Remond, in Maine, and Massachusetts,	59 68	
Wendell Phillips, Boston,	65 00	
Francis Jackson,	65 00	
A friend, by Susan C. Cabot,	10 00	
Mrs. G. R. Russell,	12 00	
Susan C. Cabot,	1 00	
William Atkinson,	2 00	
Eliza Lee Follen, sales of articles since the Fair	13 50	
Collected by Abby Kelley, and others.		
Margaret Nichols, Wilmington, Del,	1 00	
Mary Pusey, Hockissin, "	1 00	
Sarah Heald, " "	1 00	
Collection, " "	4 00	
Collection, Centreville, "	6 76	
Isaac Pearson, " "	5 00	
Collection, Penn's Grove, Del. co. Pa.	2 50	
J. Lidden Pennock, Holmsburg, Del. co. Pa.	3 00	
Collection, E. Marlborough, Chester " "	4 10	
" New Garden, " " "	3 19	
" Little Britain, " " "	6 00	
" Oxford, " " "	1 57	
" Sadsbury, " " "	8 28	
" Ercildoun, " " "	5 43	
" Kennett, " " "	4 64	
" Lionville, " " "	4 60	
" East Nantmeal, " " "	2 00	
Ann Mode, Brandywine, " " "	50	
M. Cheney, Marlborough, " " "	12	
Caroline Thompson, Marlboro', " " "	25	
Mary D. Fulton, E. Fallowfield, " " "	25	
Eliza Glascow, " " " "	25	
E. A. Chandler, " " " "	25	
Rachel Anderson, " " " "	25	
Ann Fulton, Ereildoun, " " "	50	
Susan Fulton, " " " "	50	
Susan Barnard, Marlboro', " " "	25	
J. M. Phillips, Kennett Square, " " "	50	
Howard Taylor, " " " "	25	
Hannah Pennock, " " " "	2 00	
Sarah T. Harvey, Hammerton, " "	50	
Friends, West Chester, " " "	2 50	
Collection, Pottsville, Montgomery " "	3 50	
" Norristown, " " "	10 95	
E. H. Corson, Plymouth, " " "	5 00	
Two Fugitive Slaves,	50	
	——	3,327 55
Total amount,	$2,389,55	

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

NOTICES.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES.

Gray Richards Crummell, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture in behalf of the same, at

Littleton,	Friday,	"	14.
Acton,	Sunday,	"	16.
Concord,	Monday,	"	17.
Boxborough,	Wednesday,	"	19.
Sudbury,	Friday,	"	21.
Framingham,	Sunday,	"	23.
Sherburne,	Tuesday,	"	25.
Holliston,	Thursday,	"	27.
Upton,	Sunday,	March	2.
Northbridge,	Tuesday,	"	4.

☞Our anti-slavery friends in these towns are requested to make suitable arrangements.

CONVENTIONS IN WESTERN NEW-YORK.

Mass Conventions will be held in the following places in Western New-York, and will be attended by J. B. Sanderson, and G. B. Stebbins, of Massachusetts, and W. W. Brown, and J. W. Hurn, of this State. At

Syracuse,	Wednesday and Thursday,	Feb.	25th and 26th.
Port Byron,	"	"	March 5th and 6th.
Seneca Falls,	"	"	12th and 13th.
Northville, Cayuga County	"	"	19th and 20th.

The above named individuals will attend and hold meetings in different places in the county where mass meetings are to be held, and the friends in the county will please make arrangements for the meetings in their different localities. *Friends of the slave*, arouse!! Let Western New-York be redeemed! For the last year but little has been accomplished. Let it be made up by renewed effort the year to come! Send in your contributions to aid the Society in carrying on the great work we have undertaken, for without *money* our movements will of necessity be embarrassed. We need your help. Will each contribute their mite to sustain and carry forward the good cause. Eloquent and able advocates are in the field, and must be sustained.

Those who wish to contribute will have their contributions duly acknowledged through the Standard, by sending them to Henry Bush, Treasurer, Rochester, or to

E. W. CAPRON,
Gen'l. Agt. of Western N. Y. A. S. Soc.

Rochester, N. Y. Feb. 13th, 1845.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT HOPKINTON.

An Anti-Slavery Convention will be held at Hopkinton, (Hayden Row,) Saturday and Sunday, February, 22d and 23d, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., and in connection therewith, will be the Middlesex County Quarterly Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society. It is hoped that the friends of humanity will attend without regard to sect or party.

W. A. White, Henry Clapp, Jr. and several other speakers from abroad, are expected to be present.

PETITIONS,—PETITIONS! RHODE ISLAND.

It has been thought best by the Executive Committee of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society to issue the following forms of petition for signature.

The attention of friends throughout the State is called to this matter, especially as the time is short—and whatever we do, must be done quickly. Our Legislature meets in January, (the present month.) The Congress petitions must be forwarded before the 4th of March.

Forms can be had on application at the Anti-Slavery Office, corner of Broad and Dorance street, Providence. Will the friends take the subject at once in hand, and see to it that this matter has an extensive circulation?

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Rhode Island.

The undersigned, inhabitants of the State of Rhode Island, in view of the great and alarming danger of the Annexation of Texas to the United States, respectfully ask that you will,

1st. Declare that the admission of any Foreign Territory into the United States, against the will of any one of the original partners to the Federal Compact, is, in itself, a dissolution of the Union, and that the people of Rhode Island will be absolved thereby from all allegiance to the General Government.

2d. That you will request our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to withdraw from that body, and return to their constituents immediately, on the consummation of any project for the Annexation of Texas to this Union.

3d. That you will empower and request the Government of this State to call

Poetry.

ON ANOTHER'S SORROW.

BY WILLIAM BLAKE.

Can I see another's wo,
And not be in sorrow too?
Can I see another's grief
And not seek for kind relief?

Can I see a falling tear,
And not feel my sorrow's share?
Can a father see his child
Weep, nor be with sorrow fill'd?

Can a mother sit and hear
An infant groan, an infant fear?
No! no! never can it be!
Never, never can it be!

And can He who smiles on all,
Hear the wren with sorrows small,
Hear the small bird's grief and care,
Hear the woes that infants bear,—

And not sit beside the nest,
Pouring pity in their breast?
And not sit the cradle near,
Weeping tear on infant's tear?

And not sit both night and day,
Wiping all our tears away?
Oh! no! never can it be!
Never, never can it be!

He doth give His Joy to all:
He becomes an Infant small:
He becomes a man of wo:
He doth feel the sorrow too.

Think not thou canst sigh a sigh,
And thy Maker is not nigh:
Think not thou canst weep a tear,
And thy Maker is not near.

Oh! He gives to us His joy,
That our griefs He may destroy:
Till our grief is fled and gone,
He doth sit by us and moan.

THE STRUGGLE FOR FAME.

ADVICE TO AN ASPIRANT—BY CHARLES MACKAY.

If thou wouldst win a lasting fame:
If thou th' immortal wreath wouldst claim,
And make the Future bless thy name;

Begin thy perilous career,
Keep high thy heart, thy conscience clear,
And walk thy way without a fear.

And if thou hast a voice within,
That ever whispers, "Work and win,"
And keeps thy soul from sloth and sin:

If thou canst plan a noble deed,
And never flag till it succeed,
Though in the strife thy heart should bleed:

If thou canst struggle day and night,
And, in the envious World's despite,
Still keep thy cynosure in sight:

If thou canst bear the rich man's scorn;
Nor curse the day that thou wert born,
To feed on chaff, and he on corn:

If thou canst dine upon a crust,
And still hold on with patient trust,
Nor pine that Fortune is unjust:

If thou canst see with tranquil breast,
The knave or fool in purple dressed,
While thou must walk in tattered vest:

If thou canst rise ere break of day,
And toil and moil till evening gray,
At thankless work for scanty pay:

If, in thy progress to renown,
Thou canst endure the scoff and frown
Of those who strive to pull thee down:

If thou canst bear th' averted face,
The jibe, or treacherous embrace
Of those who run the self-same race:

If thou in darkest days canst find
An inner brightness in thy mind,
To reconcile thee to thy kind:—

Whatever obstacles control,
Thine hour will come,—go on,—true soul!
Thou'lt win the prize, thou'lt reach the goal!

If not,—what matters? tried by fire,
And purified from low desire,
Thy spirit shall but soar the higher.

Content and hope thy heart shall buoy,
And men's neglect shall ne'er destroy
Thy secret peace, thy inward joy.

But if so bent on worldly fame,
That thou must gild thy living name,
And snatch the honors of the game;

And hast not strength to watch and pray,
To seize thy time and force thy way,
By some new combat every day:

If failure might thy soul oppress,
And fill thy veins with heaviness,
And make thee love thy kind the less

Thy fame might rivalry forestall,
And thou let tears or curses fall,
Or turn thy wholesome blood to gall:

Pause ere thou tempt the hard career,
Thou'lt find the conflict too severe,
And heart will break and brain will sear.

Content thee with a meaner lot:
Go plough thy field, go build thy cot,
Nor sigh that thou must be forgot.

From the Advocate of Moral Reform.

LINES

ON THE DEATH OF FRANCIS WRIGHT.

"The chamber where the good man" dies, was his—
Just on the verge of Heaven he lingered long,
But suddenly life's cords were rent in twain,
And the free spirit soared beyond the stars
To glorious mansions near the Saviour's Throne,
Where tears are dried, and where the weary rest.
Who that have known him, have not lost a friend?
Who of the many have not wept their loss,
Mingling their grief with those who loved him most
As husband, brother, father, earthly all?
He loved the wretched with a heart sincere,
And stooped to raise them from their low estate;
Sheltered the homeless, and like one of old,
Poured "oil and wine" upon their bleeding wounds.
Cheerful and long he toiled for others' good,
Forgetting self, till strength had well nigh failed,
And wan and wasted he must leave his home,
Seeking abroad the health that ne'er returned.
The *cause of Virtue* shared his earnest prayers.

SUGGESTIONS BY STEAM.

BY THOMAS HOOD.

When woman is in rags and poor,
And sorrow, cold, and hunger teaze her,
If man would only listen more
To that small voice that crieth—"Ease her!"

Without the guidance of a friend,
Though legal sharks and screws attack her,
If man would only more attend
To that small voice that crieth—"Back her!"

So out it would not be his fate
To witness some de-pairing dropper,
In Thames' tide, and run too late
To that small voice that crieth—"Stop her!"

Miscellany.

THE CHIMES!

A Goblin Story of some Bells that Rang an Old Year Out, and a New Year In.

BY CHARLES DICKENS, ESQ.

THE FIRST QUARTER.

(Continued.)

But still the red-faced gentleman extolled the good old times, the grand old times, the great old times. No matter what anybody else said, he still went turning round and round in one set form of words concerning them: as a poor squirrel turns and turns in its revolving cage; touching the mechanism and trick of which, it has probably quite as distinct perceptions, as ever this red-faced gentleman had of his deceased Millennium.

It is possible that poor old Trotty's faith in these very vague Old Times was not entirely destroyed, for he felt vague enough at that moment. One thing, however, was plain to him, in the midst of his distress; to wit, that however these gentlemen might differ in details, his misgivings of that morning, and of many other mornings, were well-founded. "No, no. We can't go right, or do right," thought Trotty, in despair. "There is no good in us. We are born bad."

But Trotty had a father's heart within him; which had somehow got into his breast in spite of his decree; and he could not bear that Meg, in the blush of her brief joy, should have her fortune read by these wise gentlemen. "God help her," thought poor Trotty. She will know it soon enough.

He anxiously signed, therefore, to the young smith, to take her away. But he was so busy, talking to her softly at a distance, that he only became conscious of this desire, simultaneously with Alderman Cute. Now, the Alderman had not yet had his say, but he was a philosopher, too—practical, though! Oh, very practical!—and, as he had no idea of loosing any portion of his audience, he cried "Stop!"

"Now you know," said the Alderman, addressing his two friends, with a self-complacent smile upon his face, which was habitual to him, "I am a plain man, and a practical man; and I go to work in a plain practical way. That's my way. There is not the least mystery or difficulty in dealing with this sort of people if you only understand 'em, and can talk to 'em in their own manner. Now, you Porter! Don't you ever tell me, or anybody else, my friend, that you have n't enough to eat, and of the best; because you know better. I have tasted your tripe, you know, and you can't 'chaff' me. You understand what 'chaff means, eh? That's the right word, isn't it? Ha, ha, ha! Lord bless you," said the Alderman, turning to his friends again, "it's the easiest thing on earth to deal with this sort of people, if you only understand 'em."

Famous man for the common people, Alderman Cute! Never out of temper with them! Easy, affable, joking, knowing gentleman!

"You see, my friend," pursued the Alderman, "there's a great deal of nonsense talked about Want—'hard up,' you know; that's the phrase, isn't it! ha! ha! ha!—and I intend to Put it Down. There's a certain amount of cant in vogue about Starvation, and I mean to Put it Down. That's all! Lord bless you," said the Alderman, turning to his friends again, "you may put down anything among this sort of people if you only know the way to set about it!"

Trotty took Meg's hand and drew it through his arm. He didn't seem to know what he was doing, though.

"Your daughter, eh?" said the Alderman, chucking her familiarly under the chin.

Always affable with the working classes, Alderman Cute! Knew what pleased them! Not a bit of pride!

"Where's her mother?" asked the worthy gentleman.

"Dead," said Toby. "Her mother got up linen; and was called to Heaven when she was born."

"Not to get up linen *there*, I suppose," remarked the Alderman, pleasantly.

Toby might or might not have been able to separate his wife in Heaven from her old pursuits. But query: If Mrs. Alderman Cute had gone to Heaven, would Mr. Alderman Cute have pictured her as holding any state or station there?

"And you're making love to her, are you?" said Cute to the young smith.

"Yes," returned Richard, quickly, for he was nettled by the question. "And we are going to be married on New-Year's day."

"What do you mean!" cried Filer, sharply. "Married!"

"Why, yes, we're thinking of it, Master," said Richard. "We're rather in a hurry, you see, in case it should be Put Down first."

"Ah!" cried Filer, with a groan. "Put THAT down indeed, Alderman, and you'll do something. Married! Married!! The ignorance of the first principles of political economy on the part of these people; their improvidence; their weakness; is, by Heavens! enough to—Now look at that couple will you."

Well! They were worth looking at. And marriage seemed as reasonable and fair a deed as they need have in contemplation.

"A man may live to be as old Methusaleh," said Mr. Filer, "and may labor all his life for the benefit of such people as those; and may heap up facts on figures, facts on figures, mountains high and dry; and he can no more hope to persuade 'em that they have no right or business to be married, than he can hope to persuade 'em that they have no earthly right or business to be born. And THAT we know they have n't. We reduced it to a mathematical certainty long ago."

Alderman Cute was mightily diverted, and laid his right forefinger on the side of his nose, as much as to say to both his friends, "Observe me, will you? Keep your eye on the practical man!"—and called Meg to him.

"Come here, my girl?" said Alderman Cute.

The young blood of her lover had been mounting wrathfully, within the last few minutes; and he was indisposed to let her come.

But setting a constraint upon himself, he came forward with a stride as Meg approached, and stood beside her. Trotty kept her hand within his arm still, but looked from face to face as wildly as a sleeper in a dream.

"Now I'm going to give you a word or two of good advice, my girl," said the Alderman, in his nice, easy way. "It's my place to give advice, you know, because I'm a Justice. You know I'm a Justice, don't you?

"Meg timidly said, "Yes." But everybody knew Alderman Cute was a Justice! Oh dear, so active a Justice always! Who such a mote of brightness in the public eye, as Cute!

"You are going to be married, you say," pursued the Alderman. "Very unbecoming and indelicate in one of your sex! But never mind that. After you are married, you'll quarrel with your husband, and come to be a distressed wife. You may think not; but you will, because I tell you so. Now I give you fair warning, that I have made up my mind to Put distressed wives Down. So don't be brought before me. You'll have children—boys. Those boys will grow up bad, of course, and run wild in the streets, without shoes and stockings. Mind, my young friend! I'll convict 'em summarily, every one, for I am determined to Put boys without shoes and stockings, Down. Perhaps your husband will die young, (most likely,) and leave you with a baby. Then you'll be turned out of doors, and wander up and down the streets. Now, don't wander near me, my dear, for I am resolved to Put all wandering mothers Down. All young mothers, of all sorts and kinds, it's my determination to Put Down. Don't think to plead illness as an excuse with me; or babies as an excuse with me; for all sick persons and young children (I hope you know the church service, but I'm afraid not) I am determined to Put Down. And if you attempt, desperately, and ungratefully, and impiously, and fraudulently attempt, to drown yourself, or hang yourself, I'll have no pity on you, for I have made up my mind to Put all suicide Down. If there is one thing," said the Alderman, with his self-satisfied smile, "On which I can be said to have made up my mind more than on another, it is to Put suicide Down. So don't try it on. That's the phrase, isn't it? Ha, ha! now we understand each other."

Toby knew not whether to be agonized or glad to see that Meg had turned a deadly white, and dropped her lover's hand.

"As for you, you dull dog," said the Alderman, turning with even increased cheerfulness and urbanity to the young smith, "what are you thinking of being married for? What do you want to be married for, you silly fellow? If I was a fine young, strapping chap like you, I should be ashamed of being milksop enough to pin myself to a woman's apron-strings! Why, she'll be an old woman before you're a middle-aged man! And a pretty figure you'll cut then, with a draggle-tailed wife, and a crowd of squalling children crying after you wherever you go!"

Oh, he knew how to banter the common people. Alderman Cute!

"There, go along with you," said the Alderman, "and repent. Don't make such a fool of yourself as to get married on New-Year's day. You'll think very differently of it long before next New-Year's day; a trim young fellow like you, with all the girls looking after you. There! Go along with you!"

They went along. Not arm-in-arm, or hand in hand, or interchanging bright glances; but she in tears, he gloomy and down-looking. Were these the hearts that had so lately made old Toby's leap up from its faintness? No, no. The Alderman, (a blessing on his head,) had Put *them* Down.

"As you happen to be here," said the Alderman to Toby, "You shall carry a letter for me. Can you be quick? You're an old man."

Toby, who had been looking after Meg, quite stupidly, made shift to murmur out that he was very quick, and very strong.

"How old are you," inquired the Alderman.

"I'm over sixty, Sir," said Toby.

"Oh! This man is a great deal past the average age, you know," cried Mr. Filer, breaking in as if his patience would bear some trying, but this really was carrying matters a little too far.

"I feel I'm intruding, Sir," said Toby. "I—I misdoubted it this morning. Oh, dear me!"

The Alderman cut him short by giving him the letter from his pocket. Toby would have got a shilling, too, but Mr. Filer clearly showing that in that case he would rob a certain given number of persons of ninepence halfpenny a piece, he only got sixpence; and thought himself very well off to get that.

Then the Alderman gave an arm to each of his friends, and walked of in high feather; but immediately came hurrying back alone, as if he had forgotten something.

"Porter?" said the Alderman.

"Sir!" said Toby.

"Take care of that daughter of yours. She's much too handsome."

"Even her good looks are stolen from somebody or other, I suppose," thought Toby, looking at the sixpence in his hand, and thinking of the tripe. "She's been and robbed five hundred ladies of a bloom a piece, I should n't wonder. It's very dreadful!"

"She's much too handsome, my man," repeated the Alderman. "The chances are, that she'll come to no good, I clearly see. Observe what I say. Take care of her." With which he hurried off again.

"Wrong every way. Wrong every way!" said Trotty, clasping his hands. "Born bad. No business here!"

The Chimes came clashing in upon him as he said the words. Full, loud and sounding—but with no encouragement. No, not a drop!

"The tune's changed," cried the old man, as he listened. "There's not a word of all that fancy in it. Why should there be? I have no business with the New Year, nor with the old one neither. Let me die!"

Still the Bells, pealing forth their changes, made the very air spin. Put 'em down, Put 'em down! Good old Times. Good old Times! Facts and Figures, Facts and Figures! Put 'em Down, Put 'em Down! If they said anything they said this, till the brain of Toby reeled.

He pressed his bewildered head between his hands, as if to keep it from splitting asunder. A well-timed action, as it happened; for finding the letter in one of them, and being by that means reminded of his charge, he fell, mechanically, into his usual trot, and trotted off.

THE SECOND QUARTER.

The letter Toby had received from Alderman Cute, was addressed to a great man, in the great district of the town. The greatest district of the town. It must have been the greatest district of the town, because it was commonly called The World by its inhabitants.

The letter positively seemed heavier in Toby's hand than another letter. Not because the Alderman had sealed it with a very large coat of arms, and no end of wax, but because of the weighty name on the superscription, and the ponderous weight of gold and silver with which it was associated.

"How different from us," thought Toby, in all simplicity and earnestness, as he looked at the direction. "Divide the lively turtles in the bills of mortality, by the number of gentlefolks able to buy 'em; and whose share does he take but his own? As to snatching tripe from anybody's mouth—he'd scorn it."

With the involuntary homage due to such an exalted character, Toby interposed a corner of his apron between the letter and his fingers.

"His children," said Trotty, and a mist rose before his eyes; "his daughters—Gentlemen may win their hearts and marry them; they may be happy wives and mothers; they may be handsome like my darling M—e—"

He couldn't finish her name. The final letter swelled in his throat, to the size of the whole alphabet.

"Never mind," thought Trotty, "I know what I mean. That's more than enough for me." And with this consolatory rumination, trotted on.

It was a hard frost that day. The air was bracing, crisp and clear. The wintry sun, though powerless for warmth, looked brightly down upon the ice, it was too weak to melt, and set a radiant glory there. At other times, Trotty might have learned a poor man's lesson from the wintry sun; but he was past that now.

The Year was Old that day. The patient year had lived through the reproaches and misuses of its slanders, and faithfully performed its work. Spring, summer, autumn, winter. It had labored through the destined round, and now laid down its weary head to die. Shut out from hope, high impulse, active happiness itself, but messenger of many joys to others, it made appeal in its decline to have its toiling days and patient hours remembered, and to die in peace. Trotty might have read a poor man's allegory in the fading year; but he was past that now.

And only he? Or has the like appeal been ever made, by seventy years at once, upon an English laborer's head, and made in vain?

The streets were full of motion, and the shops were decked out gayly. The New Year, like an infant heir to the world, was waited for with welcomes, presents, and rejoicings. There were books and toys for the New Year, glittering trinkets for the New Year, dresses for the New Year, schemes of fortune for the New Year; new inventions to beguile it. Its life was parcelled out in almanacs and pocket-books; the coming of its moons, and stars, and tides, was known beforehand to the moment; all the workings of its seasons in their days and nights; were calculated with as much precision as Mr. Filer could work sums in men and women.

The New Year, the New Year. Everywhere the New Year! The Old Year was already looked upon as dead; and its effects were selling cheap like some drowned mariner's aboardship. Its patterns were Last Year's and going at a sacrifice, before its breath was gone. Its treasures were mere dirt, beside the riches of its unborn successor!

Trotty had no portion, to his thinking, in the New Year or the Old.

Put 'em down, facts and figures, facts and figures, good old times, good old times. Put 'em down—put 'em down'—his trot went to that measure, and would fit itself to nothing else.

But even that one, melancholy as it was, brought him, in due time, to the end of his journey. To the mansion of Sir Joseph Bowley, Member of Parliament.

The door was opened by a porter. Such a porter! Not of Toby's order. Quite another thing. His place was the ticket, though; not Toby's.

This porter underwent some hard panting before he could speak; having breathed himself by coming incautiously out of his chair, without first taking his time to think about it and compose his mind. When he had found his voice—which it took him some time to do, for it was a long way off, and hidden under a load of meat—he said in a fat whisper,

"Who's it from?"

Toby told him.

"You're to take it in yourself," said the porter, pointing to a room at the end of a long passage opening from the hall. "Everything goes straight in on this day of the year. You're not a bit too soon, for the carriage is at the door now, and they have only come to town for a couple of hours, a' purpose."

Toby wiped his feet (which were quite dry already) with great care, and took the way pointed out to him; observing, as he went, that it was an awfully grand house, but hushed and covered up, as if in the country. Knocking at the room door, he was told to enter from within, and doing so, found himself in a spacious library, where, at a table strewn with files and papers, were a stately lady in a bonnet, and a not very stately gentleman in black, who wrote from her dictation, while another, and an older, and a much statelier gentleman, whose hat and cane were on the table, walked up and down, with one hand in his breast, and looked complacently from time to time at his own picture—a full-length; a very full-length—hanging over the fireplace."

"What is this?" said the last named gentleman. "Mr. Fish will you have the goodness to attend?"

Mr. Fish begged pardon, and taking the letter from Toby, handed it with great respect.

"From Alderman Cute, Sir Joseph."

"Is this all? Have you nothing else, Porter?" inquired Sir Joseph.

Toby replied in the negative.

"You have no bill or demand upon me; my name is Bowley, Sir Joseph Bowley; of any kind from anybody, have you?" said Sir Joseph. "If you have, present it. There is a cheque-book by the side of Mr. Fish. I allow nothing to be carried into the New Year. Every description of account is settled in this house at the close of the old one. So that if death was to—to—"

"To cut," suggested Mr. Fish.

"To sever, Sir," returned Sir Joseph, with great asperity, "the cord of existence—my affairs would be found, I hope, in a state of preparation."

"My dear Sir Joseph," said the lady, who was greatly younger than the gentleman. "How shocking!"

"My Lady Bowley," replied Sir Joseph, flouncing now and then, as in great depth of his observations, "at this season of the year we should think of—of—ourselves. We should look into our—our accounts. We should feel that every return of so eventful a period in human transactions, involves matters of deep moment between a man and his—and his banker."

Sir Joseph delivered these words as if he felt the full morality of what he was saying; and desired that even Trotty should have an opportunity of being improved by such discourse. Possibly he had this end before him in still forbearing to break the seal of the letter, and in telling Trotty to wait where he was, a minute.

"You are desiring Mr. Fish to say, my lady—" observed Sir Joseph.

"Mr. Fish has said that, I believe," returned his lady, glancing at the letter. "But, upon my word, Sir Joseph, I don't think I can let it go after all. It is very dear."

"What is dear?" inquired Sir Joseph.

"That Charity, my love. They only allow two votes for a subscription of five pounds. Really monstrous!"

"My Lady Bowley," returned Sir Joseph, "you surprise me. Is the luxury of feeling in proportion to the number of votes; or is it, to a rightly-constituted mind, in proportion to the number of applicants, and the wholesome state of mind to which their canvassing reduces them? Is there no excitement of the purest kind in having two votes to dispose of among fifty people?"

"Not to me, I acknowledge," returned the lady "It bores me. Besides, one can't oblige one's acquaintance. But you are the Poor Man's Friend, you know, Sir Joseph. You think otherwise."

"I *am* the Poor Man's Friend," observed Sir Joseph, glancing at the poor man present. "As such I may be taunted. As such I have been taunted. But I ask no other title."

"Bless him for a noble gentleman!" thought Trotty.

"I don't agree with Cute, here, for instance," said Sir Joseph, holding out the letter. "I don't agree with the Filer party. I don't agree with any party. My friend, the Poor Man, has no business with anything of that sort, and nothing of that sort has any busine-s with him. My friend, the Poor Man, in my district is my business. No man or body of men has any business to interfere between my friend and me. That is the ground I take. I assume a—a paternal character towards my friend. I say, my good fellow, I will treat you paternally."

Toby listened with great gravity, and began to feel more comfortable.

"Your only business, my good fellow," pursued Sir Joseph, looking abstractedly at Toby; "your only business in life is with me. You needn't trouble yourself to think about anything. I will think for you; I know what is good for you; I am your perpetual parent. Such is the dispensation of an all-wise Providence! Now, the design of your creation is; not that you should swill, and guzzle, and associate your enjoyments, brutally, with food"—Toby thought remorsely of the tripe—"but that you should feel the Dignity of Labor; go forth erect into the cheerful morning air, and—and stop there. Live hard and temperately, be respectful, exercise your self-denial, bring up your family on next to nothing, pay your rent as regularly as the clock strikes, be punctual in your dealings, (I set you a good example; you will find Mr. Fish, my confidential secretary, with a cash-box before him all the time;) and you may trust me to be your friend and father."

"Nice children, indeed, Sir Joseph!" said the lady, with a shudder. "Rheumatisms, and fevers, and crooked legs, and asthmas, and all kinds of horrors!"

"My lady," returned Sir Joseph, with solemnity, "not the less am I the poor man's friend and father. Not the less shall he receive encouragement at my hands. Every quarter-day he will be put in communication with Mr. Fish. Every New-Year's day, myself and friends will drink his health. Once every year, myself and friends will address him with the deepest feeling. Once in his life, he may even perhaps receive—in public, in the presence of the gentry, a trifle from a friend. And when, upheld no more by these stimulants, and the Dignity of Labor, he sinks into his comfortable grave, then, my lady"—here Sir Joseph blew his nose—"I will be a friend and father—on the same terms—to his children."

Toby was greatly moved.

"Oh! You have a thankful family, Sir Joseph!" cried his wife.

"My lady," said Sir Joseph, quite majestically, "ingratitude is known to be the sin of that class. I expect no other return."

"Ah! born bad!" thought Toby. "Nothing melts us!"

"What man can do, *I* do," pursued Sir Joseph. "I do my duty as the poor man's friend and father, and I endeavor to educate his mind, by inculcating on all occasions the one great moral lesson which that class requires; that is, dependence on myself. They have no business whatever with—with themselves. If wicked and designing persons tell them otherwise, and they become impatient and discontented, and are guilty of insubordinate conduct and black-hearted ingratitude, which is undoubtedly the case, I am their friend and father still. It is so ordained. It is in the nature of things."

With that great sentiment, he opened the Alderman's letter, and read it.

"Very polite and attentive, I am sure!" exclaimed Sir Joseph. "My lady, the Alderman is so obliging as to remind me that he has had 'the distinguished honor'—he is very good—of meeting me at the house of our mutual friend, Deedles, the banker; and he does me the favor to inquire whether it will be agreeable to me to have Will Fern put down."

"*Most* agreeable!" replied my Lady Bowley. "The worst man among them! He has been committing a robbery, I hope?"

"Why, no," said Sir Joseph, referring to the letter. "Not quite; very near. Not quite. He came up to London, it seems, to look for employment, (trying to better himself—that's his story,) and being found at night asleep in a shed, was taken into custody and carried next morning before the Alderman. The Alderman observes (very properly) that he is determined to put this sort of thing down; and that if it will be agreeable to me to have Will Fern put down, he will be happy to begin with him."

"Let him be made an example of, by all means," returned the lady. "Last winter, when I introduced pinking and eyelet-holeing among the men and boys in the village, as a nice evening employment, and had the lines,

> Oh, let us love our occupations,
> Bless the squire and his relations,
> Live upon our daily rations,
> And always know our proper stations,

set to music on the new system, for them to sing the while; this very Fern; I see him now—touch that hat of his, and said, 'I humbly ask your pardon, my lady; but *an't* I something different from a great girl?' I expected it, of course; who can expect anything but insolence and ingratitude from that class of people? That is not to the purpose, however. Sir Joseph, make an example of him!"

"Hem!" echoed Sir Joseph. "Mr. Fish, if you'll have the goodness to attend—"

Mr. Fish immediately seized his pen, and wrote from Sir Joseph's dictation.

"Private. My dear Sir. I am very much indebted to you for your courtesy in the matter of the man William Fern, of whom, I regret to add, I can say nothing favorable. I have uniformly considered myself in the light of his friend and father, but have been repaid (a common case, I grieve to say) with ingratitude, and constant opposition to my plans. He is a turbulent and rebellious spirit. His character will not bear investigation. Nothing will persuade him to be happy when he might. Under these circumstances, it appears to me, I own, that when he comes before you again (as you informed me he promised to do to-morrow, pending your inquiries, and I think he may be so far relied upon,) his committal for some short term, as a vagabond, would be a service to society, and would be a salutary example in a country where—for the sake of those who are, through good and evil report, the friends and fathers of the poor, as well as with a view to that, generally speaking, misguided class themselves—examples are greatly needed. And I am," and so forth.

"It appears," remarked Sir Joseph, when he had signed this letter, and Mr. Fish was sealing it, "as if this were ordained; really. At the close of the year, I wind up my account, and strike my balance, even with William Fern."

Trotty, who had long ago relapsed, and was very low-spirited, stepped forward with a rueful face to take the letter.

"With my compliments and thanks," said Sir Joseph. "Stop!"

"Stop!" echoed Mr. Fish.

"You have heard, perhaps," said Sir Joseph, oracularly, "certain remarks into which I have been led respecting the solemn period of time, at which we have arrived, and the duty imposed upon us of settling our affairs, and being prepared. You have observed that I do not shelter myself behind my superior standing in society, but that Mr. Fish—that gentleman—has a check-book at his elbow, and is in fact here, to enable me to turn over a perfectly new leaf, and enter on the epoch before us with a clean account. Now, my friend, can you lay your hand upon your heart, and say, that you also have made preparation for a new year?"

"I am afraid, Sir," stammered Trotty, looking meekly at him, "that I am a—a—little behind-hand with the world."

"Behind-hand with the world!" repeated Sir Joseph Bowley, in a tone of terrible distinctness.

"I am afraid, Sir," faltered Trotty, "that there's a matter of ten or twelve shillings owing to Mrs. Chickenstalker."

"To Mrs. Chickenstalker!" repeated Sir Joseph, in the same tone as before.

"A shop, Sir," exclaimed Toby, "in the general line. Also a—a little money on account of rent. A very little, Sir. It ought not to be owing, I know, but we have been hard put to it, indeed!"

Sir Joseph looked at his lady, and at Mr. Fish, and at Trotty, one after another, twice all round. He then made a despondent gesture with both hands at once, as if he gave the thing up altogether.

"How a man, even among this improvident and impracticable race; an old man; a man grown gray; can look a New Year in the face, with his affairs in this condition; how he can lie down on his bed at night, and get up again in the morning, and—there!" he said, turning his back on Trotty. "Take the letter. Take the letter."

"I heartily wish it was otherwise, Sir," said Trotty, anxious to excuse himself. "We have been tried very hard."

Sir Joseph still repeating, "Take the letter, take the letter!" and Mr. Fish not only saying the same thing, but giving additional force to the request by motioning the bearer to the door, he had nothing for it but to make his bow and leave the house. And in the street, poor Trotty pulled his worn old hat down on his head, to hide the grief he felt at getting no hold on the New Year, anywhere.

He didn't even lift his hat to look up at the Bell tower, when he came to the old church on his return. He halted there a moment, from habit; and knew that it was growing dark, and that the steeple rose above him, indistinct and faint, in the murky air. He knew, too, that the Chimes would ring immediately; and that they sounded to his fancy, at such a time, like voices in the clouds. But he only made the more haste to deliver the Alderman's letter, and get out of the way before they began; for he dreaded to hear them tagging "Friends and Fathers, Friends and Fathers," to the burden they had rung out last.

Toby discharged himself of his commission, therefore, with all possible speed, and set off trotting homeward. But what with his pace, which was at best an awkward one in the street; and what with his hat, which didn't improve it; he trotted against somebody in less than no time, and was sent staggering out into the road.

"I beg your pardon, I'm sure!" said Trotty, pulling up his hat in great confusion, and between the hat and the torn lining, fixing his head into a kind of beehive. "I hope I have n't hurt you."

As to hurting anybody, Toby was not such an absolute Sampson, but that he was much more likely to be hurt himself: and indeed, he had flown out into the road, like a shuttlecock. He had such an opinion of his own strength, however, that he was in real concern for the other party; and said again,

"I hope I have n't hurt you?"

The man against whom he had run; a sunburned, sinewy, country-looking man, with grizzled hair, and a rough chin; stared at him for a moment, as if he suspected him to be in jest. But satisfied of his good faith, he answered:

"No, friend. You have not hurt me."

"Nor the child, I hope?" said Trotty.

"Nor the child," returned the man. "I thank you kindly."

As he said so, he glanced at a little girl he carried in his arms, asleep; and shading her face with the long end of the poor handkerchief he wore about his throat, went slowly on.

The tone in which he said "I thank you kindly," penetrated Trotty's heart. He was so jaded and foot-sore, and so soiled with travel, and looked about him so forlorn and strange, that it was a comfort to him to be able to thank any one; no matter for how little. Toby stood gazing after him as he plodded wearily away; with the child's arm clinging round his neck.

At the figure in the worn shoes—now the very shade and ghost of shoes—rough leather leggings, common frock, and broad slouched hat, Trotty stood gazing; blind to the whole street. And at the child's arm, clinging round its neck.

Before he merged into the darkness, the traveller stopped; and looking around, and seeing Trotty standing there yet, seemed undecided whether to return or go on. After doing first the one and then the other, he came back; and Trotty went half way to meet him.

"You can tell me, perhaps," said the man, with a faint smile, "and if you can I am sure you will, and I'd rather ask you than another—where Alderman Cute lives."

"Close at hand," replied Toby. "I'll show you his house with pleasure."

"I was to have gone to him elsewhere to-morrow," said the man, accompanying Toby, "but I'm uneasy under suspicion, and want to clear myself, and to be free to go and seek my bread—I don't know where. So maybe he'll forgive my going to his house to-night."

"It's impossible," cried Toby, with a start; "that your name's Fern!"

"Eh!" cried the other, turning on him in astonishment.

"Fern! Will Fern!" said Trotty.

"That's my name," replied the other.

"Why, then," cried Trotty, seizing him by the arm, and looking cautiously round, "for Heaven's sake don't go to him! He'll put you down as sure as ever you were born. Here! come up this alley, and I'll tell you what I mean. Don't go to *him*."

His new acquaintance looked as if he thought him mad; but he bore him company nevertheless. When they were shrouded from observation, Trotty told him that he knew, and what character he had received, and all about it.

The subject of his history listened to it with a calmness that surprised him. He did not contradict or interrupt it once. He nodded his head now and then—more in corroboration of an old and worn out story it appeared, than in refutation of it; and once or twice threw back his hat and passed his freckled hand over a brow, where every furrow he had plowed seemed to have set its image in little. But he did no more.

(To be continued.)

American Classics.—Mayor Hay, of Pittsburg, is a plain man. He was to welcome J. Q. Adams last spring, to the city, and had a speech all ready.—He forgot it when he saw his guest. For about two minutes, he stuttered, stammered, and looked confused, then rallying for a grand effort, he roared out, as he held forth his hand,—"How are you, old hoss? Welcome to Pittsburg!"

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Central Office, 20 Wall Street, (basement,) New-York.

THE attention of persons who are desirous of improving their condition in life, is respectfully invited to the following great bargains now offered in this office.

864 acres of land with improvements, in Lyonsdale, Lewis Co. N. Y. 40 miles north of Utica, with half of the immense water-power of High Falls, on Black River; a large and never-failing stream, with sixty feet fall, with a saw-mill in operation. The whole, or a part will be sold. Price for the whole only $12,000.

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214,000 acres in Washington, Green, Cock, Sevier, and Blount counties, Tennessee, at 25 cents an acre. On these lands are Iron, Bituminous Coal, Fine Clay for Pottery, Feldspar, Quartz, Lime, Alum, and an inexhaustible supply of water-power.

Several of the above tracts of land are peculiarly adapted to the settlement of industrial Associations.

Also, for sale in this office, a great variety of Farms, Mills, Houses, Town-Lots, &c. in the different Counties of the States of New-York and New Jersey, and in all the Western States and Territories, at the lowest market prices, and with warranted title.

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We have already a rich Register of property for sale, to which we invite the attention of those who wish to purchase Real Estate of any description, or in any par of the country.

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BUFFUM & Co.
Basement Office, 20 Wall Street.
November 28, 1844.—tf.

Graham House, New Arrangement.

ROSWELL GOSS informs his friends and the public, that he has enlarged his Boarding Establishment, known as the

GRAHAM HOUSE, 63 BARCLAY STREET,

by adding to it the adjoining house, and is prepared to accommodate transient or permanent Boarders on the most favorable terms. All friends of Temperance desiring a quiet home, and freedom from the fumes of Alcohol and Tobacco, are invited to patronize this house. The vegetable system will be strictly adhered to, but a table will be served for those who prefer a mixed diet. Croton shower and warm baths free.

October 17. ROSWELL GOSS.

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(Second Edition.)

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Education and Industry!

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We shall consider $100 a year as an equivalent for instruction and board; from which a suitable deduction will be made when a pupil comes for several years. The year will commence on the 1st of May, next, and will have no fixed and entire vacation. Pupils will be received for a year at any time.

O. MACK, *Director of Education.*
BROUGHTON MEADOWS,
Northampton, April 14, 1844.

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